

Gladio Timelines - A Chronology of NATO's Private Army

Secret Warfare: Operation Gladio and NATO's Stay-Behind Armies

Chronology

- 1940 In England Prime Minister Winston Churchill creates the secret stay-behind army Special Operations Executive (SOE) to set Europe ablaze by assisting resistance movements and carrying out subversive operations in enemy held territory. After the end of World War Two the stay-behind armies are created on the experiences and strategies of SOE with the involvement of former SOE officers.
- 1944 London and Washington agree on the importance of keeping Western Europe free from Communism. In Greece a large Communist demonstration taking place in Athens against British interference in the post war government is dissolved by gunfire of secret soldiers leaving 25 protesters dead and 148 wounded.
- 1945 In Finland Communist Interior Minister Leino exposes a secret stay-behind which is being closed down.
- 1947 In the United States President Harry Truman creates the National Security Council (NSC) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The covert action branch of the CIA, the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) under Frank Wisner sets up stay-behind armies in Western Europe.
- 1947 In France Interior Minister Edouard Depreux reveals the existence of a secret stay-behind army in France codenamed „Plan Bleu“.
- 1947 In Austria a secret stay-behind is exposed which had been set up by right-wing extremists Soucek and Rössner. Chancellor Körner pardons the accused under mysterious circumstances.
- 1948 In France the "Western Union Clandestine Committee" (WUCC) is being created to coordinate secret unorthodox warfare. After the creation of NATO a year later the WUCC is being integrated into the military alliance under the name "Clandestine Planning Committee" (CPC).
- 1949 The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is founded and the European headquarters is established in France.
- 1951 In Sweden CIA agent William Colby based at the CIA station in Stockholm supports the training of stay-behind armies in neutral Sweden and Finland and in the NATO members Norway and Denmark.
- 1952 In Germany former SS officer Hans Otto reveals to the criminal police in the city of Frankfurt in Hessen the existence of the fascist German stay-behind army BDJ-TD. The arrested right-wing extremist are found non guilty under mysterious circumstances.
- 1953 In Sweden the police arrests right winger Otto Hallberg and discovers the Swedish stay-behind army. Hallberg is set free and charges against him are mysteriously dropped.
- 1957 In Norway the director of the secret service NIS, Vilhelm Evang, protests strongly against the domestic subversion of his country through the United States and NATO and temporarily withdraws the Norwegian stay-behind army from the CPC meetings.
- 1958 In France NATO founds the Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) to coordinate secret warfare and the stay-behind armies. When NATO establishes new European headquarters in Brussels the ACC under the code name SDRA 11 is

- hidden within the Belgian military secret service SGR who has its headquarters next to NATO.
- 1960 In Turkey the military supported by secret armies stages a coup d'état and kill Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.
 - 1961 In Algeria members of the French stay-behind and officers from the French War in Vietnam found the illegal Organisation Armee Secrete (OAS) and with CIA support stage a coup in Algiers against the French government of de Gaulle which fails.
 - 1964 In Italy the secret stay-behind army Gladio is involved in a silent coup d'état when General Giovanni de Lorenzo in Operation Solo forces the Italian Socialist Ministers to leave the government.
 - 1965 In Austria police forces discover a stay-behind arms cache in an old mine close to Windisch-Bleiberg and force the British authorities to hand over a list with the location of 33 other MI6 arms caches in Austria.
 - 1966 In Portugal the CIA sets up Aginter Press which under the direction of Captain Yves Guerin Serac runs a secret stay-behind army and trains its members in covert action techniques including hands on bomb terrorism, silent assassination, subversion techniques, clandestine communication and infiltration and colonial warfare.
 - 1966 In France President Charles de Gaulle denounces the secret warfare of the Pentagon and expels the European headquarters of NATO. As the military alliance moves to Brussels secret NATO protocols are revealed that allegedly protect right-wingers in anti-communist stay-behind armies.
 - 1967 In Greece the stay-behind army Hellenic Raiding Force takes over control over the Greek Defence Ministry and starts a military coup d'état installing a right wing dictatorship.
 - 1968 In Sweden a British MI6 agent closely involved with the stay-behind army betrays the secret network to the Soviet secret service KGB.
 - 1969 In Mocambique the Portugese stay-behind army Aginter Press assassinates Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Mocambique liberation party and leader of the FRELIMO movement (Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique).
 - 1969 In Italy the Piazza Fontana massacre in Milano kills sixteen and injures and maims 80 and is blame on the left. Thirty years later during a trial of right-wing extremists General Giandelio Maletti, former head of Italian counter-intelligence, claims that the massacre had been carried out by the Italian stay-behind army and right wing terrorists on the orders of the US secret service Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in order to discredit the Italian Communists.
 - 1970 In Spain right wing terrorists including Stefano delle Chiaie of the Gladio stay-behind army are hired by Franco's secret police. They had fled Italy following an aborted coup during which right-wing extremist Valerio Borghese had ordered the secret army to occupy the Interior Ministry in Rome.
 - 1971 In Turkey the military stages a coup d'état and takes over power. The stay-behind army Counter-Guerrilla engages in domestic terror and kills hundreds.
 - 1972 In Italy a bomb explodes in a car near the village Peteano killing three Carabinieri. The terror, first blamed on the left, is later traced back to right-wing terrorist Vincenzo Vinciguerra and the Italian stay-behind code named Gladio.
 - 1974 In Italy a massacre during an anti-fascist demonstration in Brescia kills eight and injures and maims 102, while a bomb in the Rome to Munich train "Italicus Express", kills 12 and injures and maims 48.
 - 1974 In Denmark the secret stay-behind army Absalon tries in vain to prevent a group

- of leftist academics from becoming members of the directing body of the Danish Odense University whereupon the secret army is exposed.
- 1974 In Italy General Vito Miceli, chief of the military secret service, is arrested on charges of subversive conspiracy against the state and reveals the NATO stay-behind secret army during trial.
 - 1976 In Germany in the secret service BND secretary Heidrun Hofer is arrested after having revealed the secrets of the German stay-behind army to her husband who was a spy of the Soviet secret service KGB.
 - 1977 In Turkey the stay-behind army Counter-Guerrilla attacks a demonstration of 500'000 in Istanbul by opening fire at the speaker's platform leaving thirty-eight killed and hundreds injured.
 - 1977 In Spain the secret stay-behind army with support of Italian right-wing terrorists carries out the Atocha massacre in Madrid and in an attack on a lawyer's office closely linked to the Spanish Communist party kill five people.
 - 1978 In Norway the police discovers a stay-behind arms cache and arrests Hans Otto Meyer who reveals the Norwegian secret army.
 - 1978 In Italy former Prime Minister and leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Aldo Moro, is taken hostage in Rome by an armed secret unit and killed 55 days later because he wanted to include the Italian Communists in the government.
 - 1980 In Italy a bomb explodes in the waiting room of the second class at the Bologna railway station, killing 85 and seriously injuring and maiming a further 200. Investigators trace the crime back to right-wing terrorists.
 - 1980 In Turkey the commander of the stay-behind army Counter-Guerrilla, General Kenan Evren, stages a military coup and seizes power.
 - 1981 In Germany a large stay-behind arsenal is being discovered near the German village of Uelzen in the Lüneburger Heide. Right wing extremists are alleged to have used the arsenal in the previous year to carry out a massacre during the Munich Oktober beer festival killing 13 and wounding 213
 - 1983 In the Netherlands strollers in the forest discover a large arms cache near the Dutch village Velp and force the government to confirm that the arms were related to NATO planning for unorthodox warfare.
 - 1984 In Turkey the stay-behind army Counter-Guerrilla fights against the Kurds and kills and tortures thousands in the following years.
 - 1984 In Italy right-wing terrorist Vincenzo Vinciguerra in court reveals Operation Gladio and the involvement of NATO's stay-behind army in acts of terrorism in Italy designed to discredit the communists. He is sentenced to life and imprisoned.
 - 1985 In Belgium a secret army attacks and shoots shoppers in supermarkets randomly in the Brabant county killing twenty-eight and leaving many wounded. Investigations link the terror to a conspiracy among the Belgian stay-behind SDRA8, the Belgian Gendarmerie SDRA6, the Belgian right-wing group Westland New Post, and the Pentagon secret service Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA).
 - 1990 In Italy judge Felice Casson discovers documents on Operation Gladio in the archives of the Italian military secret service in Rome and forces Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti to confirm the existence of a secret army within the state to parliament. As Andreotti insists that Italy had not been the only country involved in the conspiracy the secret anti-communist stay-behind armies are discovered across Western Europe.
 - 1990 In Switzerland Colonel Herbert Alboth, a former commander of the Swiss secret

- stay-behind army P26, in a confidential letter to the Defence Departement declares that he is willing to reveal „the whole truth“. Thereafter he is found in his house stabbed with his own military bayonet. The detailed parliamentary report on the Swiss secret army is being presented to the public on November 17.
- 1990 In Belgium the NATO linked stay-behind headquarters Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) meets on October 23 and 24 under the presidency of Belgian General Van Calster, director of the Belgian military secret service SGR.
- 1990 In Belgium on November 5 NATO categorically denies the allegations of Prime Minister Andreotti concerning NATO's involvement in Operation Gladio and secret unorthodox warfare in Western Europe. The next day NATO explains that the denial of the previous day had been false while refusing to answer any further questions.
- 1990 In Belgium the parliament of the European Union (EU) sharply condemns NATO and the United States in a resolution for having manipulated European politics with the stay-behind armies.
- 1991 In Sweden the media reveals that a secret stay-behind army existed in neutral Finland with an exile base in Stockholm. Finnish Defence Minister Elisabeth Rehn calls the revelations "a fairy tale", adding cautiously "or at least an incredible story, of which I know nothing."
- 1991 In the United States the National Security Archive at the George Washington University in Washington files a Freedom of Information (FOIA) request concerning the secret stay-behind armies with the CIA in the interest of public information and scientific research. The CIA rejects the request with the standart reply: "The CIA can neither confirm nor deny the existence or non-existence of records responsive to your request."
- 1995 In England the London based Imperial War Museum in the permanent exhibition "Secret Wars" reveals next to a big box full of explosives that the MI6 and SAS had set up stay-behind armies across Western Europe.
- 1995 In Italy the Senate commission headed by Senator Giovanni Pellegrino researching Operation Gladio and the assassination of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro files a FOIA request with the CIA. The CIA rejects the request and replies: "The CIA can neither confirm nor deny the existence or non-existence of records responsive to your request."
- 1996 In Austria stay-behind arms caches set up by the CIA are discovered. For the Austrian government Oliver Rathkolb of Vienna University files a FOIA request concerning the secret stay-behind armies with the CIA. The CIA rejects the request and replies: "The CIA can neither confirm nor deny the existence or non-existence of records responsive to your request."

Secret Warfare: Gladio

by Daniele Ganser

from

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Introduction

After the Cold War had ended, then Italian prime minister Giulio Andreotti confirmed to the Italian Senate in August 1990 that Italy had had a secret stay-behind army, codenamed Gladio – the sword. A document dated 1 June 1959 from the Italian military secret service, SIFAR, revealed that SIFAR had been running the secret army with the support of NATO and in close collaboration with the US secret service, the CIA. Suggesting that the secret army might have linked up with right-wing organizations such as Ordine Nuovo and Avanguardia Nazionale to engage in domestic terror, the Italian Senate, amid public protests, decided in 1990 that Gladio was beyond democratic control and therefore had to be closed down.

During the 1990s, research into stay-behind armies progressed only very slowly, due to very limited access to primary documents. It was revealed, however, that stay-behind armies covered all of Western Europe and operated under different code names, such as Gladio in Italy, Absalon in Denmark, P26 in Switzerland, ROC in Norway, I&O in the Netherlands, and SDRA8 in Belgium. The so-called Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) and the Clandestine Planning Committee (CPC), linked to NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), coordinated the stay-behind networks on an international level. The last confirmed ACC meeting took place on 24 October 1990 in Brussels, chaired by the Belgian military secret service, the SGR.

According to the [SIFAR document of 1959](#) the secret stay-behind armies served a dual purpose during the Cold War: They were to prepare for a communist Soviet invasion and occupation of Western Europe, and – also in the absence of an invasion – for an “emergency situation”. The first purpose was clear: If there had been a Soviet invasion, the secret anti-communist armies would have operated behind enemy lines, strengthening and setting up local resistance movements in enemy held territory, evacuating pilots who had been shot down, and sabotaging supply lines and production centers of the occupation forces.

The second purpose, the preparation for an emergency situation, is more difficult to understand and remains the subject of ongoing research. As this second purpose clearly did not relate to a foreign invasion, the emergency situation referred to is likely to have meant all domestic threats, most of which were of a civilian nature. During the Cold War, the national military secret services in the countries of Western Europe differed greatly in what they perceived to be an emergency situation. But there was agreement between the military secret services of the United States and of Western Europe that communist parties, and to some degree also socialist parties, had a real potential to weaken NATO from within and therefore represented a threat to the alliance. If they gained political strength and entered the executive, or, worse still, gained control of defence ministries, an emergency situation would result. The evidence now available suggests that in some countries the secret stay-behind armies linked up with right-wing terrorists and carried out terror attacks that were later wrongly blamed on the political left in order to discredit the communists and prevent them from assuming top executive positions.

Evidence suggests that recruitment and operations methods differed greatly from country to country. The research project into NATO's secret armies that is being undertaken by the [Center for Security Studies](#) at the Swiss Federal Institute of

Technology (ETH), Zurich, and is headed by Daniele Ganser, has collected and published the available country-specific evidence in the first English-language book on the topic, entitled *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2005). In a second step, the project is working on gaining access to declassified primary documents, while encouraging discussion among NATO officials, secret services and military officials, and the international research community in order to clarify the strategy, training, and operations of the stay-behind armies.

The NATO Response

The NATO response to the discovery of the secret stay-behind armies has been defensive and at times inconsistent. When evidence of the NATO stay-behind army Gladio in Italy emerged in August 1990, NATO headquarters in Brussels initially refused to comment. About three months later, however, NATO bowed to media pressure and made a statement. However, in that statement the military alliance categorically rejected former Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's allegation about NATO's involvement in operation Gladio and the secret armies. Specifically, Senior NATO Spokesman Jean Marcotta on Monday, 5 November 1990 at SHAPE headquarters in Mons, Belgium, said: "NATO has never contemplated guerrilla war or clandestine operations; it has always concerned itself with military affairs and the defence of Allied frontiers." [\[1\]](#)

Eventually, on Tuesday, 6 November, a NATO spokesman explained that NATO's statement of the previous day had been false. On 6 November, the spokesman left journalists with a short communiqué that said that NATO never commented on matters of military secrecy and that Marcotta should not have said anything at all. [\[2\]](#) The international press protested against NATO's defensive public relations policy. For example, British daily newspaper The Observer said: "As shock followed shock across the Continent, a NATO spokesman issued a denial: nothing was known of Gladio or stay-behind. Then a seven word communiqué announced the denial was 'incorrect' and nothing more." [\[3\]](#)

In November 1990, NATO consisted of the following 16 nations: Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Greece, the United Kingdom, Island, Italy, Canada, Luxemburg, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United States; the last had a dominant position within the alliance. Following the press reports, NATO ambassadors demanded an explanation. While the administration of US president George Bush Senior refused to comment on the topic in public, immediately after the public relations debacle, on 7 November 1990, then-NATO secretary-general Manfred Wörner invited NATO ambassadors at the headquarters in Belgium to a closed meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

On 7 November 1990, Wörner, who was NATO's highest-ranking civilian officer in Europe confirmed to NATO ambassadors the existence of the secret stay-behind armies. His information was based on the testimony of Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) US General John Galvin (NATO's highest-ranking military officer in Europe). This was leaked to the Spanish press who reported: "During this meeting behind closed doors, the NATO Secretary General related that the questioned military

gentlemen – precisely General John Galvin, supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe – had indicated that SHAPE co-ordinated the Gladio operations. From then on the official position of NATO was that they would not comment on official secrets." [\[4\]](#)

Subsequent investigations revealed that NATO had coordinated the secret stay-behind armies through two clandestine centers: The Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) and the Clandestine Planning Committee (CPC). Italian General Paolo Inzerilli, who commanded the Italian stay-behind Gladio from 1974 to 1986, testified that the "omnipresent United States" had dominated the CPC, which, he said, was founded "by order of the Supreme Commander of NATO Europe. It was the interface between NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and the Secret Services of the member states as far as the problems of non-orthodox warfare were concerned." [\[5\]](#) The United States, together with their allied junior partner Britain and France, dominated the CPC and within the committee formed a so-called executive group. "The meetings were on the average once or twice a year in Brussels at CPC headquarters and the various problems on the agenda were discussed with the 'Executive Group' and the Military", Inzerilli explained. [\[6\]](#)

Italian General Gerardo Serravalle, who commanded the Italian Gladio stay-behind from 1971 to 1974, said that the document "'Directive of SHAPE' was the official reference, if not even the proper Allied Stay-Behind doctrine". This document is not yet available to researchers. According to the testimony of General Serravalle, the members of the CPC were the officers responsible for the secret stay-behind structures of the various European countries. "At the stay-behind meetings representatives of the CIA were always present", Serravalle explained, as well as "members of the US Forces Europe Command". [\[7\]](#)

Serravalle said the recordings of the CPC, which he had seen but which are not yet publicly available, above all "relate to the training of Gladiators in Europe, how to activate them from the secret headquarters in case of complete occupation of the national territory and other technical questions such as, to quote the most important one, the unification of the different communication systems between the stay-behind bases." [\[8\]](#)

Parallel to the CPC, the Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC) linked to SHAPE coordinated the stay-behind armies. According to the Belgian Senate investigation into the stay-behind armies, ACC tasks in peacetime "included elaborating the directives for the network, developing its clandestine capability and organizing bases in Britain and the United States. In wartime, it was to plan stay-behind operations in conjunction with SHAPE; organisers were to activate clandestine bases and organise operations from there." [\[9\]](#)

According to General Inzerilli, the relations in the ACC were completely different from those in the CPC, because the two centers were not on the same hierarchical level: "The atmosphere was clearly more relaxed and friendly compared to the one in the CPC". The ACC, founded by "a specific order from SACEUR to CPC" was a sub-branch of the CPC. "The ACC was an essentially technical Committee, a forum where information on the experiences made were exchanged, where one spoke of the means available or the means studied, where one exchanged information on the networks etc. ... It was of reciprocal interest. Everybody knew that if for an operation he lacked an

expert in explosives or in telecommunications or in repression, he could without problems address another country because the agents had been trained in the same techniques and used the same materials." [\[10\]](#)

In summer 2000 I contacted NATO archives with the request for more information on stay-behind and specifically on ACC and CPC transcripts. NATO replied: "We have checked our Archives and cannot find any trace of the Committees you have mentioned." When the author insisted, NATO's archive section replied: "I wish to confirm once more that the Committees you refer to have never existed within NATO. Furthermore the organisation you refer to as 'Gladio' has never been part of the NATO military structure." [\[11\]](#)

I subsequently contacted NATO's Office of Security, which refused to comment, whereupon I requested that NATO comment on the stay-behind questions that I handed in via the embassy of my home country, Switzerland, which, as a Partnership for Peace member has an office at NATO in Brussels. "What is the connection of NATO to the Clandestine Planning Committee (CPC) and to the Allied Clandestine Committee (ACC)? What is the role of the CPC and ACC? What is the connection of CPC and ACC with NATO's Office of Security?" I had inquired in writing.

On 2 May 2001, I received a written reply from Lee McClenny, head of NATO press and media service. McClenny claimed in his letter that "Neither the Allied Clandestine Committee nor the Clandestine Planning Committee appear in any literature, classified or unclassified, about NATO that I have seen." He added: "I have been unable to find anyone working here who has any knowledge of these two committees. I do not know whether such a committee or committees may have once existed at NATO, but neither exists at present." [\[12\]](#)

Once again I insisted and asked: "Why has NATO senior spokesman Jean Marcotta on Monday November 5 1990 categorically denied any connections between NATO and Gladio, whereupon on November 7 another NATO spokesman had to declare Marcotta's statement of two days before had been false?" McClenny replied: "I am not aware of any link between NATO and 'Operation Gladio'. Further, I can find no record that anyone named Jean Marcotta was ever a spokesman for NATO." [\[13\]](#)

A senior NATO diplomat, who insisted that he remained anonymous, said potential links of the stay-behind armies to terrorism were of a very sensitive nature and would thus possibly never be commented: "Since this is a secret organisation, I wouldn't expect too many questions to be answered, even though the Cold War is over. If there were any links to terrorist organisations, that sort of information would be buried very deep indeed. If not, then what is wrong with taking precautions to organise resistance if you think the Soviets might attack?" [\[14\]](#)

Future research into stay-behind armies must be based on ACC and CPC transcripts, as well as on the stay-behind directives of SHAPE.

The EU Response

The refusal of NATO to inform the public on the respective purpose and history of the secret stay-behind armies in the countries of Western Europe led to a heated debate on the topic in the parliament of the European Union (EU) on 22 November 1990. Italian MP Falgui, who opened the debate on that day, was strongly critical of the secret armies: "Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, there is one fundamental moral and political necessity, in regard to the new Europe that we are progressively building. This Europe will have no future if it is not founded on truth, on the full transparency of its institutions in regard to the dark plots against democracy that have turned upside down the history, even in recent times, of many European states. There will be no future, ladies and gentlemen, if we do not remove the idea of having lived in a kind of double state - one open and democratic, the other clandestine and reactionary. That is why we want to know what and how many "Gladio" networks there have been in recent years in the Member States of the European Community."

French MP Dury in his address to the EU parliament criticised the lack of transparency: "What worried us in this Gladio affair was that these networks were able to exist out of sight and beyond control of the democratic political authorities. That, I think, is the fundamental issue which remains. For our part, we believe that light has to be shed on this whole affair so that we can recognise all its implications and stop the problem lingering on or occurring with other organisations, or prevent other temptations from arising. It is true that secrecy is necessary to enable certain information-gathering activities to take place and everyone can understand that. But it is nevertheless legitimate for all this to be done under the control of the democratic political authority, i.e. of a government which is responsible to a parliament. The Gladio system called this into question [...] As for the responsibility of NATO and SHAPE, I don't think one should talk about a conspiracy [...] But I think we must keep up this spirit of inquiry and this concern for everything to be brought out into the open. We know very well that some people in Gladio also sit on NATO committees [...] I feel that it is part of our democratic duty to be able to shed proper light on all these kinds of problems."

Greek MP Ephremidis, with an inexplicit reference to the 1967 military coup d'état in Greece, criticized the stay-behind armies sharply and urged that the EU parliament should set up a sub-committee of inquiry to investigate the secret armies: "Mr. President, the Gladio system has operated for four decades under various names. It has existed and possibly still does [...] It has operated clandestinely, and we are entitled to attribute to it all the destabilization, all the provocation and all the terrorism that have occurred in our countries over these four decades, and to say that, actively or passively, it must have had an involvement. The fact that it was set up by the CIA and NATO which, while purporting to defend democracy were actually undermining it and using it for their own nefarious purposes, is evidence enough of its involvement [...] we are going to discuss the democratic deficit [...] Because the democracy we are supposed to have been enjoying has been, and still is, nothing but a front [...] The fine details must be uncovered, and we ourselves must establish a special sub committee of inquiry to hold hearings and to blow the whole thing wide open so that all the necessary steps can be taken to rid our countries of such clandestine organisations."

Dutch MP Vandemeulebroucke criticized the White House for having set up secret armies in Western Europe that operated beyond the democratic control of European

parliaments: "This affair leaves a bad taste in the mouth, since it has been going on for as long as the European Community has been in existence, and we claim to be creating a new form of democracy. The budgets for these secret organisations were also kept secret. They were not discussed in any parliament, and we wish to express our concern at the fact that [...] it now emerges that there are centres for taking decisions and carrying them out which are not subject to any form of democratic control. So we obviously want to have total clarification [...] I should like to protest most strongly against the fact that the American military, whether through SHAPE, NATO or the CIA, think they can interfere in what is our democratic right."

Italian MP Cerretti praised NATO for having guaranteed the safety of the democracies of Western Europe during the cold war. He predicted, wrongly as we know today, that each EU member state would investigate and clarify all questions relating to the secret armies: "With regard to the presumed illegal operations of these services [...] they are already being investigated by the judiciary, and we are certain that the democratic governments of the Member States of the European Community will not hesitate to take all necessary measures to throw light on the situation [...] We cannot ignore the part played in those years by the North Atlantic Alliance in guaranteeing the freedom and safety of our democratic systems."

French MP De Donnea supported the analysis of MP Cerretti and in his speech in front of the EU parliament stressed that it was legitimate to prepare for an invasion: "Mr. President, it was perfectly legitimate at the end of the Second World War, for the majority of our states to set up services whose purpose was to prepare underground resistance networks that could be activated in the event of our countries being occupied by the forces of the Warsaw Pact [...] We must therefore pay tribute to all those who, while the cold war lasted, worked in these networks ... For these networks to remain effective, it was obviously necessary for them to be kept secret [...] Having said that, if there are serious indications or suspicions to the effect that some or all of these networks have operated in an illegal or abnormal way in certain countries, it is in everyone's interest for matters to be brought into the open and for the guilty to be punished."

To Dutch MP Staes the secret NATO armies represented an unacceptable deviation of the function of intelligence services. The evidence available today supports his conclusion that the stay-behind armies in some countries were a two-edged sword which fought both a domestic civilian, as well as a foreign military enemy: "Mr. President, it is unacceptable that various subversive elements, with the active support of democratically elected governments, have used the obsolete structures of Gladio to campaign against and threaten a number of democratic movements in society today. It is unacceptable that intelligence services from outside Europe have been able to ensconce themselves without difficulty in anti-democratic structures which, with a range of weapons at their disposal and unhindered by any form of legality or democratic control, have been able to give free rein to their dictatorship of ideas. In many ways, Gladio was a two-edged sword."

Greek MP Dessylas profited from the occasion to express his general suspicion of the role of secret services in democratic societies. "Mr. President, paraphrasing Marx we can say that the spectre of Gladio hangs over the whole of Europe [...] The extent to which the governments, armed services, enforcement agencies and intelligence services

of the whole of Europe have been wretchedly in thrall to the United States, NATO and the CIA is now being revealed to us. The national parliaments and the European Parliament must set up committees of inquiry immediately to investigate the role being played by Gladio [...] The revelations about Gladio [...] highlight the need, in my view, for a radical updating of the role of enforcement agencies and secret services in Europe, given the extent to which popular, social and political movements are still suffering harassment even in the new situation created by the collapse of the so-called threat from communism."

Following this debate the EU parliament passed the following resolution in which it criticized NATO sharply for having used the stay-behind networks to manipulate the democracies of Western Europe:

"A. Having regard to the revelation by several European governments of the existence for 40 years of a clandestine parallel intelligence and armed operations organisation in several Member States of the Community,

B. whereas for over 40 years this organisation has escaped all democratic controls and has been run by the secret services of the states concerned in collaboration with NATO,

C. fearing the danger that such clandestine network may have interfered illegally in the internal political affairs of Member States or may still do so,

D. whereas in certain Member States military secret services (or uncontrolled branches thereof) were involved in serious cases of terrorism and crime as evidenced by various judicial inquiries,

E. whereas these organisations operated and continue to operate completely outside the law since they are not subject to any parliamentary control and frequently those holding the highest government and constitutional posts are kept in the dark as to these matters,

F. whereas the various 'GLADIO' organisations have at their disposal independent arsenals and military resources which give them an unknown strike potential, thereby jeopardising the democratic structures of the countries in which they are operating or have been operating,

G. greatly concerned at the existence of decision-making and operational bodies which are not subject to any form of democratic control and are of a completely clandestine nature at time when greater Community co-operation in the field of security is a constant subject of discussion"

"1. Condemns the clandestine creation of manipulative and operational networks and calls for a full investigation into the nature, structure, aims and all other aspects of these clandestine organisations or any splinter groups, their use for illegal interference in the internal political affairs of the countries concerned, the problem of terrorism in Europe and the possible collusion of the secret services of Member States or third countries;

2. Protests vigorously at the assumption by certain US military personnel at SHAPE and in NATO of the right to encourage the establishment in Europe of a clandestine intelligence and operation network;

3. Calls on the governments of the Member States to dismantle all clandestine military and paramilitary networks;
4. Calls on the judiciaries of the countries in which the presence of such military organisations has been ascertained to elucidate fully their composition and modus operandi and to clarify any action they may have taken to destabilize the democratic structures of the Member States;
5. Requests all the Member States to take the necessary measures, if necessary by establishing parliamentary committees of inquiry, to draw up a complete list of organisations active in this field, and at the same time to monitor their links with the respective state intelligence services and their links, if any, with terrorist action groups and/or other illegal practices;
6. Calls on the Council of Ministers to provide full information on the activities of these secret intelligence and operational services;
7. Calls on its competent committee to consider holding a hearing in order to clarify the role and impact of the 'GLADIO' organisation and any similar bodies;
8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Secretary-General of NATO, the governments of the Member States, and the United States Government."

Most of the requests made by the EU parliament in its resolution on the stay-behind armies remained mere words on paper and were never followed. Already during the debate Dutch MP Vandemeulebroucke had correctly observed that the EU parliament had no competence in the field of defense and security issues which remained in the sovereign control of each EU member state. "I realize", Vandemeulebroucke had stressed, "that we in the European Parliament have no competence regarding peace and security matters and hence the compromise resolution asks for parliamentary committees of inquiry to be set up in each of the twelve Member States so that we do get total clarification." This project failed, as only the EU members Italy and Belgium, as well as the non-EU member Switzerland, in subsequent months and years set up a parliamentary commission of inquiry and presented a public report on their respective secret armies. All other countries, including the United States, dealt with the issue behind closed doors. The Council of the twelve EU Defense Ministers declined to reply to the resolution of the EU parliament. [\[15\]](#)

The Pentagon Response

The US Ministry of Defense, the Pentagon, did not take a stand on the subject of the secret NATO stay-behind armies in 1990 because it was not questioned at all by the US press. This led US journalist Arthur Rowse to draw "The lessons of Gladio": "As long as the US public remains ignorant of this dark chapter in US foreign relations, the agencies responsible for it will face little pressure to correct their ways". Rowse criticized that the end of the cold war had not enhanced the transparency of US

executive branches and that therefore the United States "still awaits a real national debate on the means and ends and costs of our national security policies." [\[16\]](#)

Through NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), at all times a US General, the Pentagon was during the entire cold war well informed on the stay-behind networks and their clandestine operations. According to the US Senate the secret stay-behind armies in Western Europe had been set up at the request of the Pentagon. In the aftermath of the Watergate scandal a commission of the US Congress under Senator Frank Church critically investigated the CIA and the Pentagon. In its final report, published in 1976, the commission found that the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Pentagon had asked the CIA to use its covert action branch Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) to carry out anti-communist operations in Western Europe. These operations started with the successful manipulation of the Italian elections by the CIA in 1948 in order to prevent the Italian Communist Party PCI from entering the Italian government, and continued in various forms in several European countries thereafter. On the explicit request of the Pentagon the CIA covert action branch OPC also set up stay-behind armies, as the Church report noted: "Until 1950 OPC's paramilitary activities (also referred to as preventive action) were limited to plans and preparations for stay-behind nets in the event of future war. Requested by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, these projected OPC operations focused, once again, on Western Europe and were designed to support NATO forces against Soviet attack." [\[17\]](#)

Next to preparing against a Soviet attack US operations in Western Europe during the cold war also explicitly focused on what the Pentagon considered to be a civilian domestic threat, namely the communist and to some degree the socialist parties. In a Pentagon directive of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff dated 14 May 1952 the CIA together with the military secret services were instructed to carry out "Operation Demagnetize" in order to reduce the magnetic attraction of the communist parties in Italy and in France. The task was to be fulfilled by using all means necessary through "political, paramilitary and psychological operations". The Pentagon directive stressed: "The limitation of the strength of the communists in Italy and France is a top priority objective. This objective has to be reached by the employment of all means. The Italian and French government may know nothing of the plan 'Demagnetize,' for it is clear that the plan can interfere with their respective national sovereignty." [\[18\]](#)

During the Suez Crisis of 1956 the Pentagon and NATO SACEUR General Lauris Norstad complained to have received only very little and poor intelligence on what was going on in Western Europe. Therefore, the Pentagon and SACEUR contemplated after the crisis whether the stay-behind network could be used to gather intelligence in Western Europe. Among the very few Pentagon documents presently available which speak of the stay-behind armies and their NATO coordination centre Clandestine Planning Committee (CPC) ranges an internal Pentagon document dated 3 January 1957, formerly top-secret but declassified in 1978. In that memorandum for the US Joint Chiefs of Staff written by US General Leon Johnson, US representative to the NATO military committee, Johnson comments on the complaints of then acting SACEUR General Lauris Norstad: "SACEUR has stated a belief that the intelligence received by SHAPE from national authorities during the recent period of tension was inadequate. He states that any re-examination of intelligence support to SHAPE should include the question of increasing and expediting the flow of clandestine intelligence."

Johnson relates in this document that Norstad was considering whether the CPC could be used to enhance the flow of intelligence: "In addition, SACEUR notes in reference a that there is no provision in reference b, the charter of the SHAPE Clandestine Planning Committee (CPC), which forbids the examination of peacetime clandestine activities. He specifically recommends that the SHAPE CPC be authorised to: a) Examine SHAPE's urgent peacetime intelligence requirements. b) Investigate ways in which the national clandestine services can contribute to an improvement of the flow of clandestine intelligence to SHAPE." The charter of the SHAPE CPC is unfortunately not part of the declassified document. Johnson advised Norstad not to use the secret armies to gather intelligence as they were not designed for this task: "While there is nothing in reference b [the CPC charter] which clearly forbids the CPC examining the various clandestine intelligence activities, I believe that this would be an unwarranted extension of the CPC activities. It is my interpretation of reference b [the CPC charter] that the CPC was set up solely for the purpose of planning in peacetime the means by which SACEUR's wartime clandestine operational requirements could be met. It would appear to me that any increase in the flow of intelligence to SHAPE, from whatever source, should be dealt with by normal intelligence agencies [...] I recommend that you do not approve an extension of the scope of activity of the SHAPE CPC [...] Leon Johnson." [19]

Field Manuals (FM) of the US Pentagon, designed to advise US military officers, do not usually mention the stay-behind secret armies. Yet there is one exception: the top secret FM 30-31B which describes "internal stabilisation operations" and is dated 18 March 1970, Headquarters of the US Army, Washington DC, and signed by General of the US Army William C Westmoreland. FM 30-31B is maybe the most important Pentagon document with regard to the stay-behind armies. It explicitly stresses that the Pentagon and the CIA, in order to be able to carry out clandestine operations in Western Europe, must depend heavily on the cooperation of Western European secret services: "The success of internal stabilisation operations, which are promoted in the context of strategies for internal defence by the US military secret service, depends to a large extend on the understanding between the US personal and the personal of the host country."

The evidence now available to researchers confirms that the secret stay-behind armies in Western Europe were in all countries run by the respective national military secret service, many of which cooperated closely with the US: „However high the mutual understanding between US personal and the personal of the host country might be, the option to win over agents of the secret service of the host country for actions is a much more reliable basis for the solution of the problems of the US military secret service," FM 30-31B notes. "The recruitment of senior members of the secret service of the host country as long time agents is thus especially important." In order to establish a solid working relationship the US officers in FM 30-31B were instructed to cooperate with European military secret service officers with close links to the US: "As for the recruitment of long time agents the members of the following categories deserve particular attention: [...] b) Officers, that had the opportunity to familiarize with US military training programs, especially those which had been trained directly in the United States."

The most sensitive part of the Pentagon Field Manual concerns the passage which describes how the "internal stabilisation operations" were to be carried out in practice,

hence how the Pentagon advised the European military secret services to fight what the Pentagon perceived as the “communist” or “socialist” thread. In what seems to be a description of the operations which some stay-behind armies actually carried out during the cold war, namely terrorist attacks in public places which were thereafter wrongly blamed on the communists and socialists by planting false evidence, is described by FM 30-31B like that: "There may be times when Host Country Governments show passivity or indecision in the face of communist subversion and according to the interpretation of the US secret services do not react with sufficient effectiveness. Most often such situations come about when the revolutionaries temporarily renounce the use of force and thus hope to gain an advantage, as the leaders of the host country wrongly consider the situation to be secure. US army intelligence must have the means of launching special operations which will convince Host Country Governments and public opinion of the reality of the insurgent danger."

Ongoing research now investigates whether the United States have according to this directive promoted terrorism in Western Europe carried out through the network of the secret NATO armies in order to convince European governments of the communist threat. "These special operations must remain strictly secret", the US Field Manual FM 30-31B concludes. "Only those persons who are acting against the revolutionary uprising shall know of the involvement of the US Army in the internal affairs of an allied country. The fact, that the involvement of forces of the US military goes deeper shall not become known under any circumstances." [\[20\]](#)

Still today it remains very difficult to fully understand the crucial document FM 30-31B. Journalist Allan Francovich in his BBC documentation on Gladio and NATO's secret armies asked former CIA director William Colby on the sinister FM 30-31B directives, whereupon Colby denied that the United States had engaged in such operations in Europe: "I never heard of such a thing. Frankly, I don't know the origins of the statement - and you can find any statement in any country, I mean you can find jack-ass statements anywhere." Journalist Francovich also interviewed Ray Cline, CIA Deputy Director from 1962 to 1966, who replied: "Well, I suspect it is an authentic document. I don't doubt it. I never saw it but it's the kind of special forces military operations that are described. On the other hand you gotta recall, that the defense department and the president don't initiate any of those orders, until there is an appropriate occasion." [\[21\]](#)

The history of FM 30-31B itself is remarkable. The Pentagon document first surfaced in Turkey in 1973 where the newspaper *Baris* in the midst of a whole range of mysterious acts of violence and brutality which shocked the Turkish society announced the publication of a secretive US document. Thereafter the *Baris* journalist who had come into the possession of FM 30-31B disappeared and was never heard of again. Despite the apparent danger Turkish Colonel Talat Turhan two years later published a Turkish translation of the top-secret FM 30-31 and revealed that in Turkey NATO's secret stay-behind army was codenamed “Counter-Guerrilla” directed by the Special Warfare Department. From Turkey the document found its way to Spain where in 1976 the newspaper *Triunfo*, despite heavy pressures to prevent the publication, published excerpts of FM 30-31B upon the fall of the Franco dictatorship. In Italy on 27 October 1978 excerpts of FM 30-31B were published by the political magazine *L'Europeo*, whereupon the printed issues of the magazine were confiscated. The breakthrough for

the document came arguably not in the 1970s, but in the 1980s, when in Italy the secret anticommunist P2 Freemason lodge of Licio Gelli was discovered. Among the documents seized by the Italian police ranged also FM 30-31B. The Italian parliamentary investigation into P2 decided to publish FM 30-31B in the appendix of the final public parliamentary report on P2 in 1987.

New York journalist Lucy Komisar was probably the only one to ever question the Pentagon on the topic when in 1997 she investigated the Turkish secret stay-behind army Counterguerrilla directed by the Special Warfare Department, yet with no success. "As for Washington's role, Pentagon would not tell me whether it was still providing funds or other aid to the Special Warfare Department; in fact, it wouldn't answer any questions about it. I was told by officials variously that they knew nothing about it, that it happened too long ago for there to be any records available, or that what I described was a CIA operation for which they could provide no information. One Pentagon historian said, 'Oh, you mean the 'stay-behind' organisation. That's classified'." [\[22\]](#)

The Response of the British Ministry of Defense

Together with the US Pentagon the British Ministry of Defense (MOD) played a central role in planning, setting up and running the stay-behind armies in Western Europe as the entire network was modelled after a secret British army which had operated behind enemy lines during World War II: The Special Operations Executive (SOE).

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill during World War II ordered that under the label SOE a secret army was to be created "to set Europe ablaze". The Prime Minister's War Cabinet Memorandum of 19 July 1940 recorded that "The Prime Minister has further decided, after consultation with the Ministers concerned, that a new organisation shall be established forthwith to co-ordinate all action, by way of subversion and sabotage, against the enemy overseas." [\[23\]](#)

SOE was placed under the command of the Labour Ministry of Economic Warfare under Hugh Dalton who stressed: "We have to organise movements in enemy-occupied territory comparable to the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, to the Chinese Guerrillas now operating against Japan, to the Spanish Irregulars who played a notable part in Wellington's campaign or - one might as well admit it - to the organisations which the Nazis themselves have developed so remarkably in almost every country in the world. This 'democratic international' must use many different methods, including industrial and military sabotage, labour agitation and strikes, continuous propaganda, terrorist acts against traitors and German leaders, boycotts and riots". In total secrecy a resistance network had thus to be installed by dare-devils of the British military and intelligence establishment: "What is needed is a new organisation to co-ordinate, inspire, control and assist the nationals of the oppressed countries who must themselves be the direct participants. We need absolute secrecy, a certain fanatical enthusiasm, willingness to work with people of different nationalities, complete political reliability." [\[24\]](#)

Operational command of SOE was given to Major General Sir Colin Gubbins, a small, slight, wiry Highlander. "The problem and the plan was to encourage and enable the peoples of the occupied countries to harass the German war effort at every possible

point by sabotage, subversion, go-slow practices, coup de main raids etc.," Gubbins described the task of SOE, "and at the same time to build up secret forces therein, organised, armed and trained to take their part only when the final assault began. In its simplest terms, this plan involved the ultimate delivery to occupied territory of large numbers of personnel and quantities of arms and explosives." [\[25\]](#)

After the end of World War II SOE was closed down, and the British Special Forces Special Air Service (SAS) took over responsibility to assist the British foreign secret service MI6 to set up the stay-behind network in Western Europe and train military officers of the network. Among those trained by the British SAS ranged also Decimo Garau, an instructor at the Italian Gladio base Centro Addestramento Guastatori (CAG) on Capo Marargiu in Sardinia. "I was in England for a week at Poole, invited by the Special Forces. I was there for a week and I did some training with them," Instructor Garau recalled after the exposure of Gladio in 1990. "I did a parachute jump over the Channel. I did some training with them and I got on well with them. Then I was at Hereford to plan and carry out an exercise with the SAS." [\[26\]](#)

Next to the Italians the British also trained Swedish members of the stay-behind armies. Reinhold Geijer, a former Swedish military professional, who in 1957 had been recruited into the Swedish stay-behind network and for decades had worked as a regional commander, related in 1996 on Swedish television TV 4 how the British had trained him in covert action operations in England: "In 1959 I went, via London, to a farm outside Eaton. This was done under the strictest secrecy procedures, with for instance a forged passport. I was not even allowed to call my wife" Geijer remembered. "The aim of the training was to learn how to use dead letter box techniques to receive and send secret messages, and other James Bond style exercises. The British were very tough. I sometimes had the feeling that we were overdoing it." [\[27\]](#)

Many within the stay-behind community regarded the British to be the best in the field of secret warfare, more experienced than the military officers of the US. Italian General Gerardo Serravalle, who had commanded the Italian Gladio secret army from 1971 to 1974, was questioned by BBC journalist Peter Marshall on how exactly the secret cooperation was carried out: "I invited them [the British] because we had visited their bases in England - the stay-behind bases [of the UK] - and in exchange for this visit I invited them." Journalist Marshall asked: "Where is the British stay-behind base?" Upon which General Serravalle laughed and replied: "I'm sorry, I'm not going to tell you where it is, because that enters the area of your country's secrecy." Whereupon Marshall, in order to get a guaranteed reply, asked: "But you were impressed with the British?" To which Serravalle replied: "Yes, I was. Because it's [sic] very efficient, very well organised, and the staff was excellent." [\[28\]](#)

To this very day the British Ministry of Defence has declined to comment on the stay-behind armies and terrorism in Western Europe. At the time of the discoveries of the secret armies in 1990 spokespersons at the Defence Department declared day after day to the inquisitive British press: "I'm afraid we wouldn't discuss security matters", and "It is a security matter. We are not speaking about it", and "We cannot be drawn into discussing security matters." [\[29\]](#) As the press continued to raise the Gladio topic British Defence Secretary Tom King, in the midst of preparations for the war against Saddam Hussein, went on the record saying: "I am not sure what particular hot potato you're

chasing after. It sounds wonderfully exciting, but I'm afraid I'm quite ignorant about it. I'm better informed about the Gulf." [30]

Unable to gain more information on the secret armies the British press left the Gladio story and moved on to other stories such as the war in Iraq against Saddam Hussein. This led journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy to observe in 1992 that "The silence in Whitehall and the almost total lack of curiosity among MPs about an affair in which Britain was so centrally involved are remarkable." [31]

The CIA Response

The foreign secret service of the United States, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with headquarters in Langley, Virginia, has repeatedly refused to comment on its stay-behind armies in Western Europe. At the same time retired CIA agents have spoken on the subject in a number of different circumstances.

The first to speak about CIA's stay-behind armies was William Colby, Director of the CIA from 1973 to 1976. In his book *Honorable Men*, published in 1978, Colby related that the covert action branch of the CIA, the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), had after World War Two "undertaken a major program of building, throughout those Western European countries that seemed likely targets for Soviet attack, what in the parlance of the intelligence trade were known as 'stay-behind nets', clandestine infrastructures of leaders and equipment trained and ready to be called into action as sabotage and espionage forces when the time came." Gerry Miller, chief of the CIA Western Europe desk, was overseeing this CIA operation and in 1951 sent Colby, then a young CIA officer, to plan and build such stay-behind nets in Scandinavia. The clandestine operations of the United States in Western Europe were carried out "with the utmost secrecy", as Colby stressed. "Therefore I was instructed to limit access to information about what I was doing to the smallest possible coterie of the most reliable people, in Washington, in NATO, and in Scandinavia." [32] (see document section of this webpage below for the stay-behind chapter from Colby's book "Honorable Men".)

Admiral Stansfield Turner, director of the CIA from 1977 to 1981, strictly refused to answer any questions about Gladio in a television interview in Italy in December 1990. When with respect for the victims of the numerous massacres in Italy the journalists insisted and repeated the question the former CIA director angrily ripped off his microphone and shouted: "I said, no questions about Gladio!" whereupon the interview was over. [33]

Thomas Polgar, who had retired in 1981 after a 30 year long career in the CIA, confirmed in 1991 that the CIA stay-behind armies were coordinated by "a sort of unconventional warfare planning group linked to NATO". In the secret headquarters the chiefs of the national secret armies "would meet every couple of months in different capitals." Polgar insisted that "each national service did it with varying degrees of intensity" while admitting that "in Italy in the 1970s some of the people went a little bit beyond the charter that NATO had put down." [34]

Italian experts are investigating whether the CIA had sponsored terrorism in their country. In March 2001 General Giandelio Maletti, former head of Italian counter-intelligence, at a trial of right-wing extremists accused of killing sixteen in the 1969 Piazza Fontana massacre testified in front of a Milan court that "The CIA, following the directives of its government, wanted to create an Italian nationalism capable of halting what it saw as a slide to the left, and, for this purpose, it may have made use of right-wing terrorism." Maletti added: "Don't forget that Nixon was in charge, and Nixon was a strange man, a very intelligent politician, but a man of rather unorthodox initiatives." [\[35\]](#)

Specializing in academic research on the secret Cold War the academics at the distinguished National Security Archive at George Washington University in Washington filed a [Freedom of Information \(FOIA\) request with the CIA on 15 April 1991](#). Malcolm Byrne, Deputy Director of Research at the National Security Archive, asked the CIA for "all agency records related to [...] The United State Government's original decision(s), probably taken during the 1951-55 period, to sponsor, support, or collaborate with, any covert armies, networks, or other units, established to resist a possible invasion of Western Europe by communist-dominated countries, or to conduct guerrilla activities in Western European countries should they become dominated by communist, leftist, or Soviet-sponsored parties or regimes." Furthermore Byrne highlighted: "With reference to the above, please include in your search any records relating to the activities known as 'Operation Gladio', particularly in France, Germany, or Italy." [\[36\]](#)

The CIA refused to make any data available and on 18 June 1991 replied "The CIA can neither confirm nor deny the existence or non-existence of records responsive to your request." When Byrne appealed this refusal of the CIA to provide any Gladio information the appeal was turned down. The CIA based its refusal to cooperate on two catch-all exemptions to the FOIA law which protect documents either "properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of national defence or foreign policy" (exemption B1), or "the Director's statutory obligations to protect from disclosure intelligence sources and methods, as well as the organisation, functions, names, official titles, salaries or numbers of personnel employed by the Agency, in accord with the National Security Act of 1947 and the CIA Act of 1949, respectively." (Exemption B3).

European officials who asked the CIA for data on the stay-behind armies were also turned down. In March 1995 the Italian Senate commission headed by Senator Giovanni Pellegrino - after having investigated Gladio and the massacres in Italy for five years - placed a FOIA request with the CIA. The Italian Senators asked the CIA for all records relating to the Red Brigades and the Moro affair in order to find out whether the CIA according to the Gladio domestic control task had infiltrated and radicalised the Red Brigades before the latter killed former Italian Prime Minister and leader of the Christian Democrat Party Aldo Moro in 1978. Refusing to cooperate the CIA raised FOIA exemptions B1 and B3 and in May 1995 declined all data and responded that it "can neither confirm nor deny the existence of CIA documentation concerning your inquiry." The Italian press stressed how "embarrassing" this was and headlined: "The CIA has rejected the request to collaborate with the Parliamentary Commission on the mysteries of the kidnapping. Moro, a state secret for the USA". [\[37\]](#)

Another stay-behind inquiry to the CIA by European government officials came from Austria. In January 1996 top-secret CIA stay-behind arms caches had been discovered in the mountain meadows and forests of the neutral Alpine state. US government officials declared that the United States would cover the costs arising from the digging up and recovery of the CIA networks. Oliver Rathkolb of Vienna University thereafter placed a Freedom of Information Request (FOIA) in order to gain access to the relevant CIA documents. Yet in 1997 the CIA Chairman Agency Release Panel declined also Rathkolb's information request under FOIA exemptions B1 and B3, leaving the Austrians to lament that the CIA was unaccountable for its actions.

As FOIA requests are the only method available to get hold of any CIA stay-behind documents I placed a [FOIA request](#) with the CIA on 14 December 2000. Two weeks later the CIA declined my request stating that "The CIA can neither confirm nor deny the existence or non-existence of records responsive to your request." By raising FOIA exemptions B1 and B3 Kathryn I. Dyer, CIA Information and Privacy Coordinator, with her [letter](#) declined all information on operation Gladio. [38]

I [appealed this decision](#) of the CIA and argued that "The documents that were withheld must be disclosed under the FOIA, because the secrecy exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3) can only reasonably refer to CIA operations which are still secret today." With data from my research I proved that this was no longer the case, and concluded: "If you, Mrs. Dyer, raise FOIA secrecy exemptions (b)(1) and (b)(3) in this context, you unwisely deprive the CIA from its voice and the possibility to take a stand in a Gladio disclosure discourse, which will take place regardless whether the CIA decides to participate or not." [39]

In February 2001 [the CIA replied](#) that "Your appeal has been accepted and arrangements will be made for its consideration by the appropriate members of the Agency Release Panel. You will be advised of the determinations made." At the same time the CIA stressed that the Agency Release Panel deals with appeals "on a first-received, first-out basis", and that at "the present time, our workload consists of approximately 315 appeals." [40]. Four years later, my appeal has still not been dealt with.

The MI6 Response

Together with the CIA also the British secret service MI6 was centrally involved with setting up and training the stay-behind armies in Western Europe. MI6 did not take a stand on the Gladio affair in 1990 because with a legendary obsession for secrecy the very existence of MI6 itself was only officially confirmed in 1994 with the passing of the Intelligence Services Act that specified that the task of MI6 was to collect foreign intelligence and engage in covert action operations abroad.

While the MI6 refused all comment Nigel West, editor of the *Intelligence Quarterly Magazine* and author of several books on Britain's security services, at the height of the Gladio scandal in November 1990 confirmed to Associated Press in a telephone interview: "We were heavily involved and still are [...] in these networks". West

explained that the British “certainly helped finance and run, with the Americans” several networks. “The people who inspired it were the British and American intelligence agencies.” West said after 1949 the stay-behind armies were coordinated by the Command and Control Structure For Special Forces of NATO within which also Britain's SAS special forces played a strategic role. [\[41\]](#)

"Britain's role in setting up stay-behinds throughout Europe was absolutely fundamental," BBC reported in its Newsnight edition with some delay on 4 April 1991. Newsnight reader John Simpson criticised that MI6 and the British Defence Ministry were withholding all information on the subject while "on the back of revelations that Gladio existed it has emerged that other European countries had their own stay-behind armies - Belgium, France, Holland, Spain, Greece, Turkey. Even in neutral Sweden and Switzerland there has been public debate. And in some cases enquiries have been set up. Yet in Britain, there is nothing. Save the customary comment of the ministry of defence that they don't discuss matters of national security." [\[42\]](#)

Simpson related that ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall the British with fascination and horror had learned of the conspiracies and terror operations of the Stasi, the Securitate and other secret services in Eastern Europe. “Could our side have ever done anything comparable? Surely not,” he noted with a wonderfully British ironical intonation and then turned the spotlight on the Western security services: “Yet now information has started to emerge of the alleged misdeeds of NATO's most secret services. In Italy a parliamentary commission is investigating the activities of a secret army set up by the state to resist a possible Soviet invasion. The inquiry has led to the disclosure of similar secret forces across Europe. But the Italian group, known as Gladio, is under suspicion of being involved in a series of terrorist bombings." [\[43\]](#)

The official confirmation that MI6 had been involved in setting up the stay-behind armies came several years later, and through a rather unusual channel: a museum. The London based Imperial War Museum in July 1995 opened a new permanent exhibition called "Secret Wars". "What you are about to see in the exhibition has for years been part of the countries most closely guarded secrets", the visitors were greeted at the entrance. "It has been made available to the public for the first time here. And most important of all, it's the truth [...] Fact is more incredible and exciting than fiction." An inconspicuous comment in one of the windows dedicated to MI6 confirmed that "Among MI6's preparation for a Third World War were the creation of 'stay-behind' parties ready to operate behind enemy lines in the event of a Soviet advance into Western Europe." In the same window a big box full of explosives carried the commentary: "Explosives pack developed by MI6 to be hidden in potentially hostile territory. It could remain buried for years without any deterioration of its contents." And next to a booklet on sabotage techniques for "stay-behind" parties a text read: “In the British Zone of occupation in Austria, junior Royal Marine officers were detached from normal duties to prepare supply caches in the mountains and liaise with locally recruited agents." [\[44\]](#)

Former MI6 officers rightly took the exhibition as a sign that they could now speak out about the top-secret stay-behind operation. A few months after the exhibition had opened, former Royal Marine officers Giles and Preston, the only MI6 agents to be named in the Gladio exhibition next to a photo "in Austrian Alps 1953-1954", confirmed to author Michael Smith, that throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s the

British and Americans had set up stay-behind units in Western Europe in preparation for an expected Soviet invasion. Giles and Preston at the time were sent to Fort Monckton near Portsmouth in England where the MI6 trained stay-behind officers together with the British Special Forces, the Special Air Service (SAS). They were given instruction in codes, the use of a pistol, and covert operations. "We were made to do exercises, going out in the dead of night and pretending to blow up trains in the railway stations without the stationmaster or the porters seeing you," Preston recalled his own training. "We crept about and pretended to lay charges on the right part of the railway engine with a view to blowing it up." Then they were flown to Austria in order to recruit and train Austrian agents and to oversee the "underground bunkers, filled with weapons, clothing and supplies" of the Austrian secret army which they operated together with the CIA. [\[45\]](#)

Links to Terrorism and Crime

"Prudent Precaution or source of Terror?" the international press wondered when the secret NATO armies were discovered in 1990. [\[46\]](#) The implication at the time was that the stay-behind armies were either a prudent precaution or a source of terror. Now, 15 years later, we know that they were both.

The "prudent precaution" refers to the stay-behind function of the secret armies. In case of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe the secret armies would have strengthened the resistance and harassed the enemy. We know now that there was no Soviet invasion, and that the secret armies were never confronted with the test of reality, yet during the Cold War that danger was real. Some within the CIA and in the European stay-behind nets had their doubts as to whether they could have survived for very long within a context of total occupation. But even those who share these doubts agree that from a general strategic perspective the stay-behind armies represented one more defense strategy for Western Europe and were therefore a prudent precaution.

That some of the secret armies became a "source of terror" is only gradually being understood and continues to cause great concerns across countries and continents. Especially within the context of the ongoing so called "war on terrorism" in which democracies must increasingly rely on their secret services to protect them from terrorist attacks, it is most unsettling to discover that some secret services in coordination with secret armies have themselves promoted terrorism and crime and manipulated the evidence of terrorist attacks.

The links of the stay-behind armies to terrorism and crime represent beyond any doubt the most sensitive and the most difficult aspect of all research into NATO's stay-behind armies. The data varies greatly from country to country. In some countries the stay-behind armies were repeatedly linked to terrorism and crime, in other countries the links are still unclear and mysterious, while in a third group of countries the stay-behind armies were never linked to either terror nor crime. It is therefore of utmost importance to look at each country specifically. The crimes and terrorist attacks themselves are often very complex. What follows hereafter can at the present stage of research

therefore be no more than a short general country specific overview of the problem. The countries are listed in alphabetical order.

Austria

The Tyrol valley which connects Austria and Italy suffered from terrorism during the Cold War. The evidence now available suggests that also the secret armies were involved in the tensions. After the defeat of Austria in World War One the southern part of the Tyrol valley was given to Italy in 1919, and still today the area belongs to Italy. The southern Tyrol, called Alto Adige by the Italians, is German speaking and culturally closely connected to Austria. During the Cold War a series of bomb attacks attempted to destabilize the region around the city Bozen. [\[47\]](#)

According to the testimony of Italian General Manlio Capriata to the Italian Senate the Italian Gladio stay-behind intervened in the tensions in the Tyrol Valley. Capriata, head of office R of the Italian military secret service SIFAR which directed the Gladio stay-behind army, testified: "I confirm that the V section, thus the organisation S/B [stay-behind] and thus the CAG [Gladio centre Centro Addestramento Guastatori, Gladio headquarters in Sardinia] had an anti-subversive function for the case that the forces of the left should come to power. During my time in office the anti-Italian movement in Alto Adige was going on. In April 1962 I was contacted by [SIFAR director] General De Lorenzo who told me that he had activated the elements in Alto Adige, referring to paramilitary units trained at the CAG and resident in the Alto Adige. He told me that the means available in the area had been insufficient ... and that thus one had had to draw upon particular forces. As far as I am concerned, and by this I mean as for my time in office [February to June 1962], this was the only time when in Alto Adige the forces trained at the CAG were activated ... The use of the anti-invasion force, and thus the men trained at CAG, in Alto Adige was a deviation from the rule, for [SIFAR] office D and not [SIFAR] office R dealt with the terrorism in the area." [\[48\]](#)

According to the testimony provided by General Capriata the Italian stay-behind Gladio was involved in 1962 into still non-specified operations in the southern Tyrol valley. Whether also the Austrian stay-behind was activated in this context remains unclear as of now.

Belgium

Between 1983 and 1985 the geographic area around Brussels called Brabant suffered from 14 terrorist attacks which left 28 dead and many more injured. Several Brabant terrorist attacks targeted shoppers in supermarkets. In the terrorist attack on the Delhaize supermarket in Aalst on November 9 1985 three armed men with hoods over their heads entered the supermarket and opened fire at point blank range and killed two shoppers instantly. Upon reaching the checkout counter the terrorists began to fire randomly at anything that moved. In the ensuing massacre eight people, including a whole family, died, and seven more were injured. A husband and wife and their 14-year-old daughter were killed at the supermarket checkout. Another father and his nine-

year-old daughter were killed in their car trying to flee. The takings from the raid amounted to a meagre couple of thousand pounds, found later in a canal in an unopened sack. The killers escaped without a trace and have not been identified, nor arrested, nor tried ever since. [\[49\]](#)

When in 1990 the secret stay-behind army was discovered in Belgium suspicions rose that it might have been involved in the still mysterious Brabant massacres. Belgian Socialist Defence Minister Guy Coeme declared on television on the evening of 7 November 1990 that he wanted to know the entire history of the secret army in Belgium: "Furthermore I want to know whether there exists a link between the activities of this secret network, and the wave of crime and terror which our country suffered from during the past years." [\[50\]](#)

The Belgian Senate who investigated the secret Belgian stay-behind found that the secret army was code-named SDRA8 and that it was directly linked to NATO through the ACC and CPC. The Senators were unable, however, to clarify whether the secret army had anything to do with the Brabant terror as the Belgian military secret service refused to cooperate. In a dramatic showdown the Senators demanded that Bernard Legrand, chief of the Belgian military secret service, made available all names of the members of the secret army so that these could be compared to suspects of the Brabant terror. Yet despite the explicit order of Legrand's superior, Defence Minister Coeme, and the insistence of the legislative upon its authority to control the executive, Legrand refused to cooperate: "Whatever the Minister says, there remain very good reasons not to reveal the names of the clandestines. For different reasons, of social and family contexts, the clandestines rely upon the promise given to them." [\[51\]](#)

Journalist Allan Francovich in his television documentary on the secret NATO armies suggested that the Belgian secret army SDRA8 had linked up with the Belgian right wing organization Westland New Post (WNP). WNP member Michel Libert recalled: "There were projects." According to his own testimony he had been told: "You, Mr. Libert, know nothing about why we're doing this. Nothing at all. All we ask is that your group, with cover from the Gendarmerie, with cover from Security, carry out a job. Target: The supermarkets. Where are they? What kind of locks are there? What sort of protection do they have that could interfere with our operations? Does the store manager lock up? Or do they use an outside security company? We carried out the orders and sent in our reports: Hours of opening and closing. Everything you want to know about a supermarket. What was this for? This was one amongst hundreds of missions. Something that had to be done. But the use it was all put to, that is the big question." [\[52\]](#)

Denmark

No links to terrorism or crime reported

Finland

No links to terrorism or crime reported

France

France was struck by a series of terrorist attacks in the process that lead to the independence of the French colony Algeria in 1962. Following defeats in World War Two and Vietnam sectors of the French military and intelligence opposed the plan of French President Charles de Gaulle to grant Algeria independence, as in their eyes this plan meant yet another defeat for the proud French army. When President de Gaulle proceeded with his plan sections of the French military and intelligence took up arms against the government in Paris.

Admiral Pierre Lacoste, director of the French military secret DGSE from 1982 to 1985 under President Francois Mitterand, confirmed after the discovery of the secret NATO armies in 1990 that some "terrorist actions" against de Gaulle and his Algerian peace plan were carried out by groups that included "a limited number of people" from the French stay-behind network. Lacoste insisted that he believed that Soviet contingency plans for invasion nevertheless justified the stay-behind program. [\[53\]](#)

To some Lacoste remains a discredited source as he had to resign following the discovery of the terrorist "Operation Satanique" in which the DGSE on July 10 1985 carried out a bomb attack and sank the Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior anchoring in the harbor of New Zealand's capital Auckland killing one person on board. Greenpeace had protested against French atomic testing in the Pacific.

Germany

Germany during the Cold War did not only suffer from the left wing terrorism of the RAF (Rote Armee Fraktion), but also from right-wing terrorism. In the evening of 26 September 1980 a bomb exploded in the midst of the popular Munich Oktober festival, killing 13 and wounding 213, many gravely. The traces lead the police to the neo Nazi group "Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann". Gundolf Köhler, a 21-year-old right wing member of the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann according to the police investigation had planted the Munich bomb and died in the terrorist attack.

The members of the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann, according to their own testimony, had been supplied with arms and explosives by right wing extremist Heinz Lembke. "Mister Lembke showed us different sorts of explosives, detonators, slow matches, plastic explosive and military explosive" Raymund Hörnle of the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann revealed to the police during the interrogation. "He said that he had many caches full of such material buried in the wood, and that he could provide a lot of them ... Mister Lembke told us, that he was instructing people in the use of explosive devices and explosive." [\[54\]](#)

Subsequent events suggested that Lembke was a member of the German stay-behind army. On 26 October 1981 forest workers by chance stumbled across a large arms cache in the soil, filled with guns and other combat equipment, near the German village of Uelzen in the Lüneburger Heide area. Following the sensational discovery forest ranger Heinz Lembke was arrested and guided the police to a massive connected arsenal of 33 underground arms caches. The police concluded that Lembke was an arms collector who had acted alone, the connection to the German stay-behind network was not investigated.

" These discovered arms caches were immediately attributed to right wing extremist Lembke" an anonymous but well-informed article on Gladio from the Austrian Defence Ministry commented in 1991. "Yet this brilliant solution featured one flaw. The arms caches contained next to automatic weapons, chemical combat equipment [Arsen and Zyankali] and about 14'000 shots of munitions, also 50 anti tank guns, 156 kg of explosives, as well as 230 explosive devices and 258 hand grenades. It is remarkable, that a state with extensive security measures against terrorists should not have noted a robbery or deviation of such a large amount of combat equipment." [55]

In order to be able to fight behind enemy lines all stay-behind armies were equipped with secret underground arms caches. The material found in the Lembke arms cache suggests that it was part of the supplies of the German stay-behind army. Lembke himself never confirmed that this was the case. In prison he told his interrogator that he might reveal the next day who was supposed to use the guns and explosives. Yet on that next day, 1 November 1981, Lembke was found hanging on a rope from the ceiling of his prison cell. [56]

Greece

According to former CIA agent Philipp Agee the Greek stay-behind army LOK (Lochos Oreinion Katadromon) was a paramilitary unit used to influence domestic politics in Greece: „In the eyes of senior CIA officials, the groups under the direction of the paramilitary branch are seen as long term ‘insurance’ for the interests of the United States in Greece, to be used to assist or to direct the possible overthrow of an 'unsympathetic' Greek government. 'Unsympathetic' of course to American manipulation." [57]

The 1960s were a very agitated decade of Greece's Cold War history in which crime and terror preceded a coup d'état. Tensions in the country between the political left and the political right intensified after the elections in November 1963 in which the leftist Centre Union under George Papandreou secured 42 per cent of the popular vote and 138 of the 300 seats in parliament. When Papandreou was elected Prime Minister in February 1964 and guaranteed four years in government the right-wing establishment believed that the country was well on the road to a communist take over.

In July 1965 in cooperation with CIA chief of station Jack Maury royalists and right-wing officers of the Greek military and secret service manoeuvred George Papandreou out of office by royal prerogative. [58] As several short lived governments followed

each other tensions rose and several bombs exploded in the country. In arguably the best known terrorist attack during this period the Gorgopotamos railway bridge was blown apart by a bomb in 1965 precisely at the moment when the Greek political left and right united on the bridge to commemorate their resistance to the Nazi occupation, and specifically their successful resistance to the German blowing up of the bridge during the occupation period. The massacre left five dead and almost 100 wounded, many gravely. "Well, we were officially trained terrorists", an officer involved in the secret operations declared years later in a Gladio interview, highlighting that they had enjoyed powerful support. [\[59\]](#)

Unshaken by the waves of terror George Papandreou planned to return to power in the national elections of May 1967 for which opinion polls, including those of the CIA, predicted an overwhelming victory of the left leaning Centre Union. The elections were prevented by the military coup d'état that took place in the night of 20/21 April 1967 and involved also the Greek secret stay-behind army LOK. The coup was based on the Prometheus plan, a NATO designed scheme to be put into action in the event of a communist insurgency. Around midnight LOK units took over control over the Greek Defense Ministry, the Pentagon, and met little to no resistance. Thereafter in the dark of night tanks with flashlights rolled into the capital Athens and under the command of Brigadier General Sylianos Pattakos rounded up parliament, the royal palace, and the radio and television centers. 78-year-old George Papandreou was arrested in his house just outside the capital Athens. Together with thousands he was imprisoned.

Italy

Italy suffered from numerous terrorist attacks during the Cold War. The attacks started in 1969 when on 12 December four bombs exploded in public places in Rome and Milan. The terror, remembered as the "Piazza Fontana massacre", killed 16 and maimed and wounded 80 most of which were farmers who after a day on the market had deposited their modest earnings in the Farmer's Bank on the Piazza Fontana in Milan. The terror was wrongly blamed on the Communists and the extreme left, traces were covered up and arrests followed immediately.

In the Peteano terrorist attack of 31 May 1972 a car bomb gravely wounded one and killed three members of the Carabinieri, Italy's paramilitary police force. On 28 May 1974 a bomb exploded in the Italian town Brescia in the midst of an anti-fascist demonstration, killing eight and injuring and maiming 102. On 4 August 1974 another bomb exploded on the Rome to Munich train "Italicus Express", killing 12 and injuring and maiming 48. The terror in Italy culminated on a sunny afternoon during the Italian national holiday when on 2 August 1980 a massive explosion ripped through the waiting room of the second class at the Bologna railway station, killing 85 people in the blast and seriously injuring and maiming a further 200.

"The official figures say that alone in the period between January 1, 1969 and December 31, 1987, there have been in Italy 14 591 acts of violence with a political motivation", Italian Senator Giovanni Pellegrino, president of Italy's parliamentary commission investigating Gladio and the massacres, recalled the very violent period of Italy's Cold War history. "It is maybe worth remembering that these 'acts' have left

behind 491 dead and 1181 injured and maimed. Figures of a war, with no parallel in any other European country." [\[60\]](#)

According to right-wing extremist Vincenzo Vinciguerra the Italian state together with NATO had backed the terror secretly. In order to discredit the Italian communists and socialists the secret Gladio stay-behind army had with the support of the CIA linked up with right-wing organizations who carried out the terrorism. "The terrorist line was followed by camouflaged people, people belonging to the security apparatus, or those linked to the state apparatus through rapport or collaboration", Vincenzo Vinciguerra recalled. Right-wing organisations across Western Europe "were being mobilised into the battle as part of an anti-communist strategy originating not with organisations deviant from the institutions of power, but from the state itself, and specifically from within the ambit of the state's relations within the Atlantic Alliance." [\[61\]](#)

Vinciguerra was found guilty of the Peteano terror attack, confessed, and was imprisoned. From behind prison bars he explained the strategy which he had followed like that: "You had to attack civilians, the people, women, children, innocent people, unknown people far removed from any political game. The reason was quite simple. They were supposed to force these people, the Italian public, to turn to the State to ask for greater security. This is the political logic that lies behind all the massacres and the bombings which remain unpunished, because the State cannot convict itself or declare itself responsible for what happened." [\[62\]](#)

Luxemburg

No links to terrorism or crime reported

Netherlands

No links to terrorism or crime reported

Norway

No links to terrorism or crime reported

Portugal

Until the death of António de Oliveira Salazar in 1970 Portugal was a right wing dictatorship. According to the Portuguese press the Portuguese stay-behind army „Aginter Press“ cooperated closely with the Portuguese military secret service PIDE. Allegedly it helped to support the dictatorship and was involved in assassination operations in Portugal as well as in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. [\[63\]](#)

Aginter Press was lead by Captain Yves Guerin Serac, a French born catholic and militant anti-communist. A specialist in secret warfare Serac had fought for the French in the Vietnam war, for the United States in the Korean war, and as a member of the Organisation Armee Secrete (OAS) against the French government during the French war in Algeria. Following the defeat in Algeria Serac in June 1962 was hired by Spanish dictator Franco and thereafter by dictator Salazar in Portugal. Throughout his life his mission remained to fight communism by all means: "The others have laid down their weapons, but not I", Serac explained in 1974. "After the OAS I fled to Portugal to carry on the fight and expand it to its proper dimensions - which is to say, a planetary dimension." [\[64\]](#)

" Our number consists of two types of men: 1) Officers who have come to us from the fighting in Indo-China and Algeria, and some who even enlisted with us after the battle for Korea", Serac described the Aginter Press stay-behind army. „2) Intellectuals who, during this same period turned their attention to the study of the techniques of Marxist subversion“. These intellectuals, as Guerin Serac observed, had formed study groups and shared experiences „in an attempt to dissect the techniques of Marxist subversion and to lay the foundations of a counter-technique.“ The battle, it was clear to Guerin Serac, had to be carried out in numerous countries: „During this period we have systematically established close contacts with like-minded groups emerging in Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain or Portugal, for the purpose of forming the kernel of a truly Western League of Struggle against Marxism." [\[65\]](#)

According to Portuguese journalists Aginter Press carried out political assassinations in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies which allegedly included Humberto Delgado, Portuguese opposition leader, killed 14 February 1965, Amilcar Cabral, leader of the national liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau and one of Africa's foremost revolutionary figures, killed 20 January 20 1973, and Eduardo Mondlane, leader and President of the Mocambique liberation party and movement FRELIMO (Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique), killed in colonial Mocambique on 3 February 1969. [\[66\]](#)

Serac was convinced that the West had to use terror, assassinations and manipulation to fight communism: "In the first phase of our political activity we must create chaos in all structures of the regime. Two forms of terrorism can provoke such a situation: The blind terrorism (committing massacres indiscriminately which cause a large number of victims), and the selective terrorism (eliminate chosen persons). This destruction of the state must be carried out as much as possible under the cover of 'communist activities' ... After that, we must intervene at the heart of the military, the juridical power and the church, in order to influence popular opinion, suggest a solution, and clearly demonstrate the weakness of the present legal apparatus ... Popular opinion must be polarised in such a way, that we are being presented as the only instrument capable of saving the nation. It is obvious that we will need considerable financial resources to carry out such operations." [\[67\]](#)

Spain

Like Portugal also Spain was a right wing dictatorship until the death of Francisco Franco on November 20 1975. According to Italian investigations Italian right-wing

terrorists who had cooperated with the Gladio stay-behind army were flown from Italy to Spain after having carried out terrorist attacks in Italy. In Spain they were protected from the Italian investigations and in return offered their services to Franco.

Among the most notorious Italian born right-wing terrorists in Spain ranged Stefano delle Chiaie who allegedly carried out well over a thousand bloodthirsty attacks, including an estimated 50 murders in Spain. Members of Delle Chiaie's secret army, including Italian right-winger Aldo Tisei, later confessed to Italian magistrates that during their Spanish exile they had tracked down and killed anti-fascists on behalf of the Spanish secret service. [\[68\]](#)

The investigations into the secret Gladio stay-behind army of NATO also revealed that Italian right-wing terrorist Carlo Cicuttini took actively part in the Atocha massacre on 24 January 1977 in Madrid. The terror attack had targeted a lawyer's office closely linked to the Spanish communist party and killed five communist lawyers. The attack caused panic, for it fell right into Spain's transition to democracy. [\[69\]](#)

After Franco's death in 1975 Delle Chiaie decided that Spain was no longer a safe place and left for Chile where he offered his services to dictator Pinochet and participated in "Operation Condor" killing Chilean oppositional across the Americas. Thereafter "Caccola" as he was nicknamed moved to Bolivia and set up death squads to protect the right-wing government. In 1980 he came back to Italy and on 2 August was allegedly involved in the terrorist attack on the Bologna railway station which killed 85 and maimed 200. After the attack he returned to South America and was arrested on 27 March 1987 in the capital of Venezuela by the local secret service. The Italian secret service and the CIA arrived on the same day and questioned delle Chiaie. According to the Italian Senate investigation into Gladio delle Chiaie was unwilling to shoulder any blame but passed it on to the secret services: "The massacres have taken place. That is a fact. The secret services have covered up the traces. That is another fact." [\[70\]](#)

Sweden

Olof Palme, Swedish Prime Minister and leader of the Social Democratic Party, was assassinated in Stockholm on 28 February 1986. The investigation into the crime has proven to be extremely complex, producing dozens of suspects and traces during the years that have gone by. While substantial data to confirm this claim is lacking it shall be noted that Swedish journalists have also suspected the secret stay-behind armies of NATO of having been involved in the crime.

In 1992 the leading Swedish daily headlined: "A top-secret intelligence network within NATO is behind the death of Olof Palme." In the article journalist Göran Beckerus reported that "This has been leaked by several sources in Sweden and Germany." One of his sources was alleged CIA agent Oswald Le Winter, discredited in earlier years where he had deliberately mislead journalists. The other two sources, "both with secret services background", wished to remain unnamed but confirmed that a top-secret NATO office was behind the Palme murder. One of the sources was going as far as to claim "that he had been able to see and photograph the document according to which NATO was behind the assassination."

" The NATO organ allegedly linked to the assassination is SOPS, a part of ACC" journalist Beckerus reported in his article." ACC is an organization within which the secret services of the NATO countries meet. ACC/SOPS, among other things, is the coordination organ for the stay-behind organizations in Europe. Such a secret Swedish resistance network under the command of Alvar Lindencrona has been discovered by Dagens Nyheter in 1990. SOPS is the operative branch of ACC. Its tasks are to plan and to hide secret operations. A third organ, called ITAC, is supporting SOPS with information and intelligence means. The delegates of ACC and SOPS met regularly every month in different European capitals. Headquarters allegedly are in Brussels, but the meetings took also place in Mons (Belgium), as well as cities in Denmark and Norway. Dagens Nyheter is in the possession of information, that also Sweden at times regularly participated in ACC/SOPS meetings. The representative of the former Social Democrat government has confirmed this information. Also a source within the Swedish military secret service has confirmed the existence and the activities of the ACC/SOPS." International research into NATO's stay-behind armies has confirmed both the existence of the ACC as well as the existence of the Swedish stay-behind army under Lindencrona. Yet journalist Beckerus is still the only named source who goes as far as to claim that the network was involved in the Palme assassination: "During several meetings of the ACC/SOPS allegedly an assassination plot was made ... code-named 'Operation Tree'. Dagens Nyheter is in possession of an alleged SOPS document which laconically states 'project management is local, technician imported.'" [\[71\]](#)

Switzerland

No links to terrorism or crime reported

Turkey

In Turkey the secret NATO stay-behind army was called "Counter-Guerrilla" and operated under the direction of the Special Warfare Department. According to Turkish General Talat Turhan the secret army was involved in terror, torture and coup d'états.

After the coup of 1971 the Turkish military arrested Turhan and the Counter Guerrilla tortured him whereupon he publicly declared: "This is the secret unit of the NATO countries". [\[72\]](#) The torture took place in the notorious cellars of the Ziverbey villa in Istanbul's Erenköy district. As of the 1950s the villa was used to "interrogate" people from the former socialist countries, especially Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and in subsequent years the Counter-Guerrillas together with the Turkish military secret service MIT allegedly murdered or caused permanent damage to hundreds of people there. "In the torture villa in Erenköy in Istanbul the torture team of retired officer Eyüp Ozalkus, chief of the MIT's interrogation team for the combat of communism, blindfolded me and tied up my arms and feet" [\[73\]](#) Turhan related. „Then they told me that I was now 'in the hands of a Counter Guerrilla unit operating under the high command of the Army outside the constitution and the laws.' They told me that they 'considered me as their prisoner of war and that I was sentenced to death.'" Turhan

related: "In this villa I was with tied up arms and feet chained to a bed for a month and tortured in a way which a human being has difficulty to imagine. It was under these circumstances that I first was made familiar with the name Counter-Guerrillas." [\[74\]](#)

General Turhan survived the torture and dedicated his life to the researching the Counter-Guerrilla secret army and covert action in Turkey, publishing three books on the topic. [\[75\]](#) "When it was discovered in 1990 that Italy had an underground organization called Gladio, organized by NATO and controlled and financed by the CIA, which was linked to acts of terrorism within the country, Turkish and foreign journalists approached me and published my explanations as they knew that I have been researching the field for 17 years ... In Turkey the special forces in the style of Gladio are called Counter-Guerrilla by the public" Turhan explained to the press and once again lamented that „despite all my efforts and initiatives of political parties, democratic mass organizations and the media the Counter-Guerrilla has still not been investigated." [\[76\]](#)

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The data available so far on the links of the NATO stay-behind armies to terrorism and crime remains fragmentary.

The overview shows that large differences exist from country to country. In some countries the links are proven, while in others more research is needed in the future. What did NATO know? What did the Pentagon, the CIA and MI6 know? Which terrorist attacks were deviations, and what was planned? Within the context of the so called "war on terrorism" the data on NATO's stay-behind armies opens up an entire field of so far unexplored questions and raises fundamental questions for which the answers are still lacking.

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Notes

- [\[1\]](#) British daily *The European*, 9 November 1990.
- [\[2\]](#) British daily *The European*, 9 November 1990. It seems that the NATO official who issued the correction was Robert Stratford. Compare: Regine Igel, *Andreotti. Politik zwischen Geheimdienst und Mafia* (Munich: Herbig Verlag, 1997), p. 343.
- [\[3\]](#) British daily *The Observer*, 18 November 1990.
- [\[4\]](#) No author specified: "Gladio: Un misterio de la guerra fria. La trama secreta coordinada por mandos de la Alianza Atlantica comienza a salir a la luz tras cuatro decadas de actividad," Spanish daily *El Pais*, 26 November 1990.
- [\[5\]](#) Inzerilli, Paolo, *Gladio. La verità negata* (Bologna: Edizioni Analisi, 1995), p. 61.
- [\[6\]](#) Inzerilli, Gladio, p. 62.
- [\[7\]](#) Gerardo Serravalle, *Gladio* (Roma: Edizioni Associate, 1991), p. 79.
- [\[8\]](#) Serravalle, Gladio, p. 78.
- [\[9\]](#) Belgian Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry into Gladio, as summarised in Belgium periodical *Statewatch*, January/February 1992.
- [\[10\]](#) Inzerilli, Gladio, p. 63 .

- [11] Email from NATO Archives to the author, 18 August 2000.
- [12] Letter from Lee McClenny, NATO head of press and media, to the author, dated 2 May 2001.
- [13] Letter from Lee McClenny, NATO head of press and media, to the author, dated 2 May 2001.
- [14] International news service Reuters, 15 November 1990.
- [15] All quotes from: *Debates of the European Parliament*, 22 November 1990. Official transcripts
- [16] Arthur Rowse, "Gladio: The Secret US War to subvert Italian Democracy," *Covert Action Quarterly* 49, (Summer 1994).
- [17] United States Senate, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence activities, Book IV: Supplementary detailed staff reports on foreign and military intelligence, p. 36
- [18] The document is quoted in Roberto Faenza, *Il malaffare: Dall' America di Kennedy all'Italia, a Cuba, al Vietnam* (Milano: Editore Arnoldo Mondadori, 1978), p. 313. Italian historian Roberto Faenza in the 1970s researched in the US archives and by using the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) got hold of the Demagnetize document revealing for the first time "this heavy deviation of the Italian Secret Service".
- [19] Memorandum by Lieutenant General Leon W. Johnson, US Representative to the NATO Military Committee Standing Group to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff on Clandestine Intelligence, 3 January 1957. Formerly Top Secret. Declassified in 1978. Found by the author through computer based *Declassified Documents Reference System* at LSE in London.
- [20] Regine Igel, *Andreotti. Politik zwischen Geheimdienst und Mafia* (1997), p. 346. Igel offers in her German translation the full text of the top secret US FM 30-31B in her book on Giulio Andreotti and the US subversion of Italy (Appendix, pp. 345-358). The English quotes offered above are the author's translation of Igel's text. Igel's source is the original English version of the FM 30-31B as contained in the collected documents of the Italian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the US-linked P2 secret lodge which was discovered in 1981 (Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sulla loggia massonica P2. Allegati alla Relazione Doc. XXIII, n. 2-quater/7/1 Serie II, Vol. VII, Tomo I, Roma 1987, pp. 287-298). The document FM 30-31B is dated 18 March 1970, Headquarters of the US Army, Washington DC, and signed by General of the US Army William C Westmoreland.
- [21] Allan Francovich, *Gladio: The Foot Soldiers*. Third of total three Francovich Gladio documentaries, broadcasted on BBC2 on 24 June 1992.
- [22] Lucy Komisar, "Turkey's Terrorists: A CIA Legacy Lives On," *The Progressive*, April 1997.
- [23] David Stafford, *Britain and European Resistance 1940-1945: A survey of the Special Operations Executive* (Oxford: St. Antony's College, 1980), p. 20.
- [24] Letter by Minister Hugh Dalton to Foreign Minister Halifax on July 2, 1940. Quoted in M. R. D. Foot, *An outline history of the Special Operations Executive 1940-1946* (London: British Broadcasting Cooperation, 1984), p. 19.
- [25] E. H. Cookridge, *Inside SOE. The story of Special Operations in Western Europe 1940-45* (London: Arthur Barker Limited, 1966) p. 13.
- [26] Allan Francovich, *Gladio: The Ringmasters*. First of total three Francovich Gladio documentaries, broadcasted on BBC2 on 10 June 1992.
- [27] Thomas Kanger and Oscar Hedin, "Erlanders hemliga gerilla: I ett ockuperat Sverige skulle det nationella motståndet ledas från Äppelbo skola i Dalarna," Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 October 1998.

- [28] British television. BBC Newsnight, 4 April 1991, 10:30 pm. Gladio report by journalist Peter Marshall
- [29] British daily *The Guardian*, 14 November 1990
- [30] Richard Norton Taylor, "Secret Italian unit 'trained in Britain'," British daily *The Guardian*, 17 November 1990.
- [31] Hugh O' Shaughnessy, "Gladio: Europe's best kept secret - They were the agents who were to 'stay behind' if the Red Army overran western Europe. But the network that was set up with the best intentions degenerated in some countries into a front for terrorism and far-right political agitation," British daily *The Observer*, 7 June 1992.
- [32] William Colby, *Honorable Men: My life in the CIA* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), pp. 81-83.
- [33] British daily *The Independent*, 1 December 1990.
- [34] Kwitny, Jonathan, "The CIA's Secret Armies in Europe," *The Nation* (6 April 1992), p. 445.
- [35] Philip Willan, "Terrorists 'helped by CIA' to stop rise of left in Italy," British daily *The Guardian*, 26 March 2001.
- [36] FOIA request: CIA's "Operation Gladio", handed in by Malcolm Byrne on 15 April 1991. FOIA request number 910113.
- [37] Italian daily *Corriere della Sera*, 29 May 1995.
- [38] Letter dated 28 December 2000 of the CIA to the author concerning Gladio FOIA request number F-2000-02528.
- [39] Letter dated 23 January 2001 of the author to Mrs. Dyer at the CIA.
- [40] Letter dated 7 February 2001 from the CIA's Information and Privacy Coordinator Kathryn I. Dyer to the author.
- [41] International news service Associated Press, 14 November 1990.
- [42] British television. BBC Newsnight, 4 April 1991, 10:30 pm. Gladio report by journalist Peter Marshall.
- [43] British television. BBC Newsnight, 4 April 1991, 10:30 pm. Gladio report by journalist Peter Marshall.
- [44] Imperial War Museum, London. Secret Wars exhibition. Visited by the author on 20 May 1999.
- [45] Michael Smith, *New Cloak, Old Dagger: How Britain's Spies Came in from the Cold* (London: Gollancz, 1996), p. 117. Based on interviews with Simon Preston on 11 October 1995, and with Michael Giles on 25 October 1995.
- [46] International news service Reuters Western Europe, 15 November 1990.
- [47] Compare: Hans Karl Peterlini, *Bomben aus zweiter Hand: Zwischen Gladio und Stasi - Suedtirols missbrauchter Terrorismus* (Bozen: Edition Raetia, 1992). And: Elisabeth Baumgartner, Hans Mayr, Gerhard Mumeleter, *Feuernacht: Suedtiroler Bombenjahre* (Bozen: Edition Raetia, 1992).
- [48] Senato della Repubblica. Commissione parlamentare d'inchiesta sul terrorismo in Italia e sulle cause della mancata individuazione dei responsabili delle stragi: Stragi e terrorismo in Italia dal dopoguerra al 1974. Relazione del Gruppo Democratici di Sinistra l'Ulivo. Roma June 2000, p. 42.
- [49] Allan Frankovich, *Gladio: The Foot Soldiers*. Third of total three Francovich Gladio documentaries, broadcasted on BBC2 on 24 June 1992.
- [50] Quoted in Jan de Willems, *Gladio* (Brussels: Editions EPO, 1991), p. 13.
- [51] Enquête parlementaire sur l'existence en Belgique d'un réseau de renseignements clandestin international, rapport fait au nom de la commission d'enquête par MM. Erdman et Hasquin. Document Senat, session de 1990-1991. Brussels, p. 53

- [52] Allan Frankovich, *The Foot Soldiers*. Third of total three Frankovich Gladio documentaries, broadcasted on BBC2 on 24 June 1992.
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- [54] Jens Mecklenburg (ed.), *Gladio: Die geheime Terrororganisation der Nato* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1997), p. 82.
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OPERATION GLADIO

ITALY

1947 Origins of Gladio

"As early as 1947, the United States was constructing a clandestine network in Northern Italy to act in the event of a communist insurrection or electoral victory." (Wolfgang Achtnr, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

"Though the Stay Behind operation was officially started only in 1952, "the whole exercise had been in existence for a long time, in fact ever since it was born in the head of Allen Dulles," said the ex-Nato source who has access to files in several West European nations. According to him, Dulles, the first chief of the CIA, worked out the original plan to build secret anti-communist guerilla forces across Europe when he was based in Switzerland at the end of the second world war. Dulles, Sir Stewart Menzies (SIS) and the Belgian Premier Paul Henri Spaak codified the plan in a secret pact sometime between 1949 and 1952 under the umbrella of the Clandestine Co-ordinating Committee at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, (SHAPE), which became Nato. "There was a division of labour between the British and the US," he continued, "with Britain taking responsibility for the operation in France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Norway and the Americans looking after Sweden, Finland and the rest of Europe" (Searchlight, January 1991)

1951 Formation of Clandestine Planning Committee

"In 1951, said the newspaper [Die Welt], Allied intelligence agencies and each participating nation - Germany, Italy and France being among the first - agreed to set up a Committee for planning to oversee the network" (Associated Press, 13/11/90)

1955-58 CIA control of Italian secret services

"Former defence minister Paulo Taviani [told Magistrate Casson during his 1990 investigation] that during his time in office (1955-1958), the Italian secret services were bossed and financed by the boys in Via Veneto' - ie the CIA agents in the US Embassy in the heart of Rome. (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

1956 General Giovanni de Lorenzo appointed head of Sifar

"De Lorenzo was...appointed head of the secret services (Sifar) in 1956 by President Granchi, he stayed on as head of Sifar after he was made commander of the carabinieri in 1962." (Stuart Christie, "Stefano de Chiaie", Anarchy/Refract, 1984)

1956 Formation of Gladio

"US documents declassified in the 1970's show that General Giovanni de Lorenzo, the chief of Sifar (Italian Military Intelligence), joined the US in the 1950's in preparing a plan against a Communist takeover, but did not inform his own government. According to a document released by Mr Andreotti last month the CIA and Sifar sketched a plan in November 1956, codenamed Gladio, to form a force of 1000 men capable of guerilla warfare and espionage. A training base was set-up in Sardinia and 139 weapons and ammunition dumps were hidden in Northern Italy." (Wolfgang Achtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

"Andreotti ... has admitted to parliament that a covert intelligence service was set-up forty years ago, with the help of the CIA and British agents to combat Soviet subversion or aggression. Although no elected representatives save Prime Ministers were told of its existence, it still exists." (Wolfgang Achtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

"The network, run by secret-services of Nato members, was apparently set-up in the 1950's at US instigation to create a guerrilla resistance organisation in the event of a Soviet invasion or communist takeover in Nato countries." (John Palmer, Guardian, 10/11/90)

"General sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley, a former commander-in-chief of Nato forces in northern Europe said...that a covert intelligence service was set up in Italy with the help of British agents and the CIA - which also partly funded it. The Italian branch of the network was known as Operation Gladio" (Richard Norton Taylor, Guardian, 15/11/90)

"Gladio was the name given to the Italian branch of a network with the harmless official name, Allied Co-Ordination Committee, set up with British help in the 1950's, operated by the secret services and partly financed by the United States CIA."

(Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 16/11/90)

Post-1956 Structure of Gladio

Gladio was "Set up to engage in clandestine, non-conventional resistance in the event of invasion. 622 people were recruited and trained by American and British intelligence at the Capo Marrargui base on the northern tip of Sardinia. They were organised in 40 independent cells. Six were responsible for intelligence-gathering, 10 for sabotage, 6 for codes and radio communications, 6 for running escape routes and 12 for guerilla warfare. Five of the guerrilla units were named after flowers such as azalea, rhododendron and broom. Gladio established 139 arms caches, mostly in north-east Italy near the Gorizia gap, through which any Soviet invasion was expected to come. Since then 127 have been recovered, 10 more have been built over, but the last two were probably found by private citizens, but the suspicion remains that they were used by right-wing terrorists."

(Charles Richards & Simon Jones, Independent, 16/11/90)

"Two Communist MP's [who] got into the [Gladio] secret training base near Alghero, Sardinia, discovered that when the Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti had spoken of 'only 622 units' he had failed to mention that each was a guerrilla chief who would raise 12 to 15 followers to a total of 15,000 men. After training sessions these Gladio chieftains took their 'personal weapons' home to be ready for the Soviet invasion." (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

1/6/59 Gladio Briefing Minute

"A briefing minute of June 1, 1959, reveals Gladio was built around "internal subversion". It was to play "a determining role ...not only on the general policy level of warfare, but also on the politics of emergency. (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 5/12/90)

"The Venetian judges [Casson & Mastelloni] came across Gladio when working on a document of 1959 that referred to the militia's "internal subversion"... The document, dated June 1, 1959, detailed the "non-orthodox" warfare that Gladio would wage against a Warsaw Pact invader, saying the strategy comes from the Nato clandestine planning committee in Paris. But the paper then moves from what it calls "the Nato level" to the national level" - the first dealing with "invading military forces" and the second with "internal subversion," both arranged in "close cooperation between the Italian and American secret services." The duty of Gladio is a double one, says the document. The first is objective" and concerns the "defence of the Italian territory and population". The second is defined cryptically as "subjective" and is "concerned with the legitimate authority of the state, and with the eventuality of any serious

offences against its integrity." Gladio should be ready "to adopt, with timely readiness, preemptive action to assure the state's prestige, capacity for action and for government". (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 10/12/90)

1959 Gladio joins the Clandestine Planning Committee

"In 1959, Italy was invited to join the Clandestine Planning Committee, the multi-national organ overseen from Belgium by Shape (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe). Sifar began to recruit Italian military personnel and civilians and place them in secret cells. British agents were involved in the training. (Wolfgang Achtnr, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

1960 Founding of Ordine Nuovo

Ordine Nuovo was founded by industrialist Pino Rauti. "It had been strengthened by numerous training courses run by officers of the Italian and Greek armies. It also received financial assistance from the CIA and Belgian neo-nazis." (Time Out, 7/4/70)

1964 Operation Solo

"Frightened by the "opening to the left" under the Christian Democrat premiership of Aldo Moro and the success at the polls of the Communists who gained 25 per cent of the vote in the 1963 elections, the Italian right began to make plans to pave the way for the installation of a government of "public safety" consisting of right-wing Christian Democrats, top managers and military men. General Giovanni de Lorenzo, commander of the paramilitary carabinieri and head of the Italian secret services, together with twenty other senior army officers and allegedly with the knowledge and agreement of president Antonio Segni, drew up a plan for a presidential type coup d'tat. "Plan Solo" was to have concluded with the assassination of the premier, Aldo Moro. Executive authority was to have passed to the right wing Christian Democrat Cesare Merzagora. The coup was called off at the final moment by a compromise between the socialists and right wing Christian Democrats. General de Lorenzo and his colleagues were not ones to give in so easily, however, and although their plans were thwarted on this occasion the plotters did not abandon them."

(S Christie, "Stefano de Chiaie", (Anarchy/Refract, 1984))

"It is not known precisely when Stefano de Chiaie was first recruited as an agent of the Italian secret service, but he was certainly working on behalf of the Interior Ministry as far back as 1960 and he himself has implied knowledge of and involvement with de Lorenzo's "Plan Solo."" (S Christie, "Stefano de *Chiaie", (Anarchy/Refract, 1984))

"Italians have learned that General Giovanni de Lorenzo, as secret services chief, compiled dossiers, including tapes and photographs, on some 150,000 people...De Lorenzo received parliamentary immunity as an MSI (neo-fascist) MP." (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

"By 1964, the plot had thickened. Mr de Lorenzo compiled files on more than 150,000 people, including politicians, priests and unionists. He drew up a plan for the carabinieri, Italy's paramilitary police, to arrest many politicians, take over radio and television networks, and seize the offices and newspapers of left-wing parties. After "Operation Solo" was leaked, a parliamentary inquiry ruled in 1970 that Mr de Lorenzo had violated the constitution. But he was not preparing his own coup d'état. He was organising a duplicate of operation Gladio to be activated if the left gained too much power." (Wolfgang Achtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

1966-1968 President Cossiga's role

"President Francesco Cossiga...had some responsibility for administering Gladio as a junior defence minister from 1966-68."
(John Wyles, Financial Times, 14/12/90)

Late 1960s CIA concern over Gladio

"By the late 1960's the CIA felt Gladio was expensive and out of control, but decided not to close it down because it fostered useful contacts with the Italian security establishment." (Edward Lucas, Independent, 16/11/90)

1969-1984 Fascist bomb attacks

"The Prime Minister, Giulio Andreotti, sharply denied that there was any link between the group, codenamed Gladio...and a wave of unsolved bombings between 1969 and 1984 in which 143 people were killed...The Communist Party alleged that members of Gladio may have taken part in acts of terrorism nero, or neo-fascist bombings such as that in the waiting room at Bologna Station in August 1980, which killed 85 people in Italy's communist heartland. Four neo-fascists were jailed for life for the crime, and the grand master of the illegal P2 Masonic Lodge, Licio Gelli, was sentenced to 7 years for his involvement in the case. But last July the appeals court overturned the ruling for reasons never clearly explained, causing a national outcry." (Fiona Leney & Wolfgang Achtner, Independent, 10/11/90)

At the trial of Vincent Vinciguerra (a neo-fascist who took part in a 1972 bomb attack that killed three carabinieri) he told the magistrate; "that every bombing in Italy after 1969 was linked to one group. "The orders are given by an apparatus belonging to the state, specifically by a secret parallel structure of the Interior Ministry" he said." (Wolfgang Achtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

"The most disturbing questions raised by the discovery of "Gladio" remain unanswered. How come "Gladio" guns and explosives were used in the 1972 Peteano attack in which three policemen were killed..." (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

Early 1970s Meeting between Alexander Haig and Licio Gelli

"In an interview the ex-Nato operative said that Ted Shackley, the CIA's deputy station chief in Rome, "fixed a meeting between Alexander Haig and Gelli at the US embassy in Rome in the early 1970s, when Haig was President Nixon's Chief of Staff. "Money" he said was then filtered to Stay Behind or Gladio with the blessing and knowledge of both Haig and the then head of the US National Security Council, Henry Kissinger. Their aim was to prevent a communist takeover at all costs.

7-8/12/70 Abortive coup attempt by Prince Valesio Borghese

"For four and a half months the whereabouts of Delle Chiaie were to remain a mystery, until the night of 7-8 December 1970, the anniversary of the Japanese surprise attack on the United States fleet at Pearl Harbour in 1941. Then the 'Black prince' Julio Valerio Borghese, ex-commander of Mussolini's Decima MAS (Tenth Light Flotilla) and responsible for a murderous anti-partisan campaign under Mussolini's Salo Republic, gave the order to proceed with the final stages of an attempted coup codenamed "Tora, Tora". At 11.15 that evening, Stefano delle Chiaie, commanding 50 neo-nazis, occupied the buildings of the Interior Ministry in Rome. They had gained entrance that morning disguised as workmen and had lain low until Borghese gave the final go ahead for the coup. However at the very last moment the coup was called off. A few minutes before lam on the 8th Borghese received a mysterious telephone call. The identity of the caller is not known, but the name of General Micelli, successor to Admiral Hencke as head of the secret service and commander of the "Rose of the Winds" organisation, has been mentioned repeatedly in this connection. What was said during the short conversation was also unknown but speculation has it that Micelli, who was allegedly involved in the shady background of the plot, realised at the last moment that Borghese and his men were being set up by other more powerful factions among the plotters, and decided to warn his friend and advise him to pull out. (S Christie, "Stefano de Chiaie", (Anarchy/Refract, 1984))

"There was [an] abortive coup in December 1970 by Prince Valerio Borghese, a fascist Navy commander. The head of the secret service, General Vito Miceli, was linked to the plotters. At their trial in 1977 he said: "There has always been a certain top secret organisation, known to the top authorities of the state and operating in the domain of the secret services, that is involved in activities that have nothing to do with intelligence gathering. Likewise, a colonel called Amos Spiazzi, who was investigated for his links with the Borghese coup and the Bologna bombing, talked of an "organisation operating within the armed forces, that did not have any subversive intention, but was set up to protect the state from the possibility of a Marxist advance." A few days ago, Mr Spiazzi, who was acquitted in the trials, said proudly he had been a member of "Operation Gladio" since 1960. (Wolfgang Achtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

"Italians have learned that...General Vito Miceli received an \$800,000 handout from the Americans; that Miceli was linked to an abortive coup in 1970 led by Prince Valerio Borghese, a wartime mini-sub commander...Miceli

received parliamentary immunity as an MSI (neo-fascist) MP, while Borghese was spirited out of Spain by ex-Nazis." (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

"There are also overlaps between senior Gladio personnel and the committee of military men, Rosi dei Vent; which tried to stage a coup in 1970." (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 5/12/90)

1971-1974 Head of Gladio

"General Gerardo Serraville [was] head of Gladio from 1971 to 1974." (Charles Richards, Independent, 1/12/90)

1972 Gladio meeting

"General Geraldo Serraville, a former head of "Office R", told the terrorism commission that at a crucial Gladio meeting in 1972, at least half of the upper echelons "had the idea of attacking the communists before an invasion. They were preparing for civil war." Later, he put it more bluntly: "They were saying this: "Why wait for the invaders when we can make a preemptive attack now on the communists who would support the invader?" (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 5/12/90)

January-February 1972 Missing Gladio arms cache

"General Gerardo Serraville, head of the fifth division of the Italian secret service, told the Commission on Terrorism that although seven containers of explosives had been logged at the Gladio arms dump at Aurisina, near Trieste, the police had found only four containers - with three unaccountably missing. Carabinieri officers discovered the arsenal during January and February, 1972, the general said. This was only two months before the murder of three carabinieri at Peteano by a fascist car bomb." (Ed Vullamy, Guardian, 21/11/90)

1972 Disarming of Gladio

"Gladio has still not been officially disbanded... It was equipped with arms caches which, according to Mr Andreotti, were recalled in 1972, although two went missing." (John Wyles. Financial Times, 9/11/90)

1972 Peteano bomb attack

Fascist bomb attack killed three carabinieri (see above)

c1973 Gladio unit visit Britain

"Britain hosted a unit responsible for organising Operation Gladio...General Gerardo Serraville, who said the Italians trained at a military base in Britain, was giving evidence in Rome to a parliamentary

inquiry." (see 1990).

23/11/73 Bombing of the plane Argo 16

"General Geraldo Serravalle, head of Gladio from 1971 to 1974, told a television programme that he now thought the explosion aboard the plane Argo 16 on 23 November 1973 was probably the work of gladiatori who were refusing to hand over their clandestine arms. Until then it was widely believed the sabotage was carried out by Mossad, the Israeli foreign service, in retaliation for the pro-Libyan Italian government's decision to expel, rather than try, five arabs who had tried to blow up an Israeli airliner. The Arabs had been spirited out of the country on board the Argo 16." (Charles Richards, independent, 1/12/90)

1974 Denial of Gladio's existence

"...Andreotti denied the existence of a secret agency linked to the spy services"
(Wolfgang Achtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

""I can say that the head of the secret services has repeatedly and unequivocally excluded the existence of a hidden organisation of any type or size," the Italian Minister of Defence, Giulio Andreotti, told a judicial enquiry in 1974 into the alleged existence of a secret state army." (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 5/12/90)

1974 British "Gladio" visit to Italy

Gladio "counterparts in Britain, where the plan was given the name Operation Stay Behind, visited Italy in 1974, according to a senior Italian intelligence official." (Richard Norton-Taylor & David Gow, Guardian, 17/11/90)

1974-79 P2 and US involvement with Gladio?

"Declassified secret service papers reveal that Ted Shackleton, deputy chief of the CIA station in Rome in the 1970's introduced the notorious Licio Gelli - head of the neo-fascist P2 masonic lodge and for years a fugitive in Argentina - to General Alexander Haig, then Nixon's chief of staff, and later, from 1974 to 79, Nato Supreme Commander. P2 was a right-wing shadow government, ready to take over Italy, that included four Cabinet Ministers, all three intelligence chiefs, 48 MPs, 160 military officers, bankers, industrialists, top diplomats and the Army Chief of Staff. After meetings between Gelli, Italian military brass and CIA men in the embassy, Gladio was given renewed blessing - and more money - by Haig and the then head of the National Security Council, Henry Kissinger. Just how those and later funds were spent is a key point in the [Casson] investigation." (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

1978 Red Brigade killing of Aldo Moro

"As the conspiracy theorists would have it, Mr Moro was allowed to be killed either with the acquiescence of people high in Italy's political establishment, or at their instigation, because of the historic compromise he had made with the Communist Party, western Europe's largest, which brought them closer to power than ever before." (Charles Richards & Simon Jones, Independent, 16/11/90)

"A cache of previously unknown letters written by the former Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, just prior to his execution by Red Brigade terrorists in 1978, was last month discovered in a Milan apartment which had once been used as a Red Brigade hideout. One of those letters made reference to the involvement of both Nato and the CIA in an Italian based secret service, "parallel" army."
(Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

"This safe house had been thoroughly searched at the time by Carlo Albert Dalla Chiesa, the head of counter-terrorism. How is it that the papers had not been revealed before?" (Charles Richards & Simon Jones, Independent, 16/11/90)

1978 Denial of Gladio's existence

"...Andreotti denied the existence of a secret agency linked to the spy services" (Wolfgang Aichtner, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

1980 Sismi takes control of Gladio

"Operational management of Gladio was passed from Nato to Sismi in 1980."
(John Wyles, Financial Times, 9/11/90)

2/8/80 Bologna Station bomb

"The makings of the bomb which killed 85 people at Bologna railway station in 1980 came from an arsenal used by Gladio, the Italian wing of Nato's communist-resistance network, according to a parliamentary commission on terrorism...The suggested Link with the Bologna massacre is potentially the most serious of all the accusations levelled against Gladio, and comes just two days after the Italian Prime Minister, Giulio Andreotti, cleared Gladio's name in a speech to parliament, saying that the secret army did not drift from its formal Nato military brief." (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 16/1/91)

1981 Discovery of P2

"P2 was not uncovered until 1981. Later it was found that every member of the crisis committee set up by Francesco Cossiga, then interior minister, now President of the Republic, was a member of P2." (Charles Richards & Simon Jones, Independent, 16/11/90)

"Links have...been proven between P2 and right-wing terrorism. What has not been conclusively shown is what direct links there might have been between the CIA and right-wing terrorism."

(Charles Richards & Simon Jones, Independent, 16/11/90)

"Licio Gelli, grandmaster of the P2 masonic lodge - which a parliamentary commission found had links with rightwing terrorists - recently had his jail sentence overturned on appeal. Mr Gelli, as it happens, was a contact for CIA agents responsible for controlling communist influence in Italy."

(Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 16/11/90)

"Links between Gladio, Italian secret service bosses and the notorious P2 masonic lodge are manifold. The chiefs of all three secret services - General Santovito (Sismi), Grassini (Sisde) and Cellari (Cesis) - were members of the lodge. In the year that Andreotti denied Gladio's existence [1974], the P2 treasurer, General Siro Dosetti, gave a generous account of "a secret security structure made up of civilians, parallel to the armed forces."" (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 5/12/90)

January 1990 Magistrate Casson applies to examine Sismi files

"In January [Magistrate Casson] applied for permission to examine the files of the Sismi. In July, Mr Andreotti granted him permission.

28/6/90-2/7/90 Brenneke disclosures

Four programmes on state television (RAI) allege that the CIA paid Lucio Gelli to "foment terrorist activities. "In the first programme someone described simply as "Agent Zero" described how [ex-Swedish Prime Minister Olaf] Palme had been caught in a deal between the CIA and Iran to release American hostages in Tehran. "Palme was a fly in the ointment so we got P2 to rub him out," the agent said. The second programme, which showed the gaunt silhouette of "Agent Zero One", alleged that P2 was not wound up in the mid-1980s, after the arrest of its leader Licio Gelli. "It still exists. It calls itself P7," he said. According to the agent, the lodge is still functioning with branches in Austria, Switzerland and East Germany. "Zero One" has now been revealed by the Italian press to be Dick Brenneke, allegedly a career CIA officer." (Richard Bassett, Times, 24/7/90)

"In the programme, Mr Brenneke alleged that, throughout the 1970's the CIA had made large sums of money available to the subversive Masonic Lodge, P2, widely believed to have been involved in the August, 1980 Bologna train station bombing in which 85 people were killed. Furthermore Mr Brenneke claimed that, not only does the CIA continue to secretly finance a revived P2, but that it was involved in the 1986 killing of the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Olaf Palme. According to Mr Brenneke, P2, under the guidance of its Grand master, Mr Licio Gelli, used some of the finance made available by the CIA to set up agencies in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland. These agencies in turn were used by P2 to set up the assassination of Mr Palme, on the orders of the CIA. Finally, and perhaps

most sensationally, Mr Brenneke alleged that President Bush, then director of the CIA, not only knew about these CIA activities in Italy (during the late 1970s and early 1980s) but was in fact one of the masterminds behind them. In the 1976 general election, the huge success of the Communist Party...encouraged some to believe that Italy might be close to voting in its first ever Communist government. In order to forestall this possibility, the CIA allegedly sponsored a series of right wing terrorist attacks, via Mr Gelli's P2...The CIA denied the charges and said Mr Brenneke had never worked for the agency." (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 24/7/90)

"In a four part special on RAI, the main Italian state-run television network, Brenneke claimed he had been making payments to members of P2, a right-wing Masonic lodge, on behalf of the CIA from 1969 to 1980. He said he had made payments which ranged from \$1m to \$10m a month and were part of the struggle against communism. He said P2 was also involved in arms and drugs trafficking for the CIA...The programme sparked a political storm in Italy...However a note of caution began to appear after Italian journalists were sent to pour over court records in Oregon. These showed Brenneke had been sued over his business dealings, once by his own brother. An Oregon newspaper turned up evidence that he had been involved in at least three government fraud investigations. Earlier this year he was put on trial in Oregon for allegedly lying under oath about his claims that Bush travelled to Paris in 1980 to make a deal with the Iranians over the American hostages. Brenneke was acquitted on all charges." (Mark Hosenball, Sunday Times, 29/7/90)

"A US businessman and former CIA agent, Dick Brenneke, told Italian television the CIA sent him to Czechoslovakia to buy arms and explosives for terrorists. "Weapons, revolvers, bombs, explosives like Semtex were bought in Czechoslovakia. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, I was dealing with Czechoslovakia," he said. The CIA has denied his claim that it had backed terrorism in Italy through the illegal P2 Masonic lodge." (Independent, 2/8/90)

18/7/90 Bologna Bombers Appeal

"An Italian appeal court yesterday...overturned the convictions of all 13 people held responsible for...the bomb blast that devastated Bologna Railway station... The court acquitted four neo-fascists sentenced to life imprisonment for the attack; Valerio Fioravanti, his wife, Francesca Mambro, Massimiliano Fachini and Sergio Picciafuoco, and nine other people accused of complicity in the crime. Licio Gelli, the ex-grandmaster of the illegal P-2 Masonic Lodge, and Francesco Pazienza, a former secret agent, were also acquitted. They had been given a seven year sentence for allegedly staging an elaborate hoax to protect the bombers. (Fiona Leney, Independent, 19/7/90)

2/8/90 Anniversary of Bologna Bombing

"On the eve of the anniversary, Liberato Mancuso, the Bologna judge who had led the investigation and secured the initial convictions [of the Bologna bombers] broke six months of silence: "It is now understood among those engaged in the matter of democratic rights that we are isolated, and the objects of a campaign of aggression. This is what has happened to the commission into the P2, and to the magistrates. The personal risks to us are small in comparison to this offensive of denigration, which attempts to discredit the quest for truth. In Italy there has functioned for some years now a sort of conditioning, a control of our national sovereignty by the P2 - which was literally the master of the secret services the army and our most delicate organs of state."" (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 3/8/90)

September 1990 Gladio Coordination Committee Meeting

The network, Belgian authorities say, held its latest coordination committee meeting in Brussels during September." (John Palmer, Guardian, 10/11/90)

October 1990 Discovery of Moro letters

"A cache of previously unknown letters written by former Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, just prior to his execution by Red Brigade terrorists in 1978, was...discovered in a Milan apartment which had once been used as a Red Brigade hideout. One of these letters made reference to the involvement of both Nato and the CIA in an Italian-based secret service, "parallel" army." (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

"Most [of the Moro letters] were written answers to questions put by his captors about his political philosophy, Nato, the Christian Democrat party and so on. One line which may come back to haunt today's political leaders was: Beware of Andreotti. He's too close to Nato." (Charles Richards & Simon Jones, Independent, 16/11/90)

"A group of judges examin[ed] letters uncovered in Milan during October in which the murdered Christian Democrat leader, Aldo Moro, said he feared a shadow organisation, alongside other secret services of the West [which] ... might be implicated in the destruction of our country."" (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 5/12/90)

cOctober 1990 Inquiry into Peteano killings

"Details of Gladio emerged after a Venetian magistrate, Felice Casson, stumbled across records of the group during an inquiry into a terrorist murder which took him into the archives of the Italian secret service. Mr Andreotti, who has already been interviewed by judge Casson, was forced to report to parliament detailing the creation of the group..." (Fiona Leney & Wolfgang Achtnr, Independent, 10/11/90)

"Venetian magistrate, Mr Felice Casson, was searching through classified

documents in Italian secret service archives. Mr Casson's investigations into a 1972 terrorist attack had led him to conclude that some form of Nato-sponsored secret army had operated, and was still operating, in Italy." (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

"Giulio Andreotti, the Christian Democrat Prime Minister... admitted that 'certain activities had been carried out under a Nato umbrella in consideration of a possible invasion, but said the organisation had ceased to exist in 1972.'" (Fiona Leney & Wolfgang Achtner, Independent, 10/11/90)

October 1990 President Cossiga admits involvement

"President Francesco Cossiga...said last month that he was proud that as a junior defence minister he had drawn up Gladio's formal defence structure." (Fiona Leney & Wolfgang Achtner, Independent, 10/11/90)

November 1990 Disbandment of Gladio?

"Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti...told parliament that Gladio had been necessary during the days of the Cold War but, that in view of the collapse of the East Block, Italy would suggest to Nato that the organisation was no longer necessary." (Fiona Leney & Wolfgang Achtner, Independent, 10/11/90)

November 1990 Casson dossier goes to Rome

"Last week he [magistrate Felice Casson] despatched to Rome, under police guard, photostats of all the evidence he has gathered. The 10,000 word dossier, Casson aides say, relates the Gladio set-up to politico-military subversion and contains some explosive material 'that could topple the government at any moment.' A copy goes to the Attorney General, who can decide on prosecutions., (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

November 1990 PM Giulio Andreotti and Gladio

"Two Communist MPs got into the secret training base near Alghero, Sardinia" They found "a well-worn billiard table which, until last week, bore a shining brass plate: 'To the men of Gladio - from Giulio Andreotti'. The plate is no more, removed at short notice on orders from its donor, Italy's Prime Minister." (William Scobie, Observer, 18/11/90)

14/11/90 Publication of Gladio members

"On Wednesday, the Italian magazine, Europeo, gave details of 622 'gladiators', two of them women." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 16/11/90)

15/11/90 Official Commission on Terrorism

"Italian authorities launched an official inquiry yesterday into a clandestine Nato terror group code-named Gladio...A commission will question senior officers about Gladio. Admiral Fulvio Marini was quizzed by the commission..."Gladio is virtually frozen. I can guarantee that," the admiral told [them]. (Morning Star, 16/11/90)

22/11/90 European Parliament call for enquiry into Gladio

"The European Parliament yesterday called for an investigation into secret anti-communist organisations set up in the 1950s." (Guardian. 23/11/90) See Appendix 2 for full text.

28/11/90 Gladio Disbanded

"Operation Gladio has been dismantled. General Paolo Inzerilli, chief of staff of the Italian security service Sismi told the parliamentary commission on terrorism that the Prime Minister issued the order on Wednesday." (Charles Richards, Independent, 1/12/90)

4/12/90 President Cossiga's speech on Gladio

"In perhaps his most ill-advised intervention so far, Cossiga delivered a eulogy on the paramilitary organisation in a speech to carabinieri cadets at a training college in Rome. Calling members of Gladio patriots, the President suggested the magistrate investigating the organisation was inspired by the same subversive ideals that fuelled Italy's left-wing movements"

(Bruce Johnston, Sunday Times, 9/12/90)

10/12/90 Judicial inquiry into Gladio

The prosecutor of Rome...begins his examination into the possible criminal illegality of the Gladio brief. The inquiry splits into two: the Venetian judges, Felice Casson and Marco Mastelloni, will continue to work on the terrorist attack of 1972, in which three policemen were killed...The Rome prosecutor, Ugo Giuffrè, will rule on what is called "criminal evidence", and decide whether to take legal proceedings against those involved in setting up Gladio. Among his first witnesses will be General Giovanni de Lorenzo, head of Sifar in 1959, who is embroiled in inquiries into another paramilitary network called Piano Solo, declared illegal in 1970 (Ed Vulliamy, Guardian, 10/12/90)

OPERATION STAY BEHIND(THE BRITISH CONNECTION)

1940 Origins of the network?

"In Britain, a guerrilla network with arms caches was already in place following the fall of France in 1940, according to senior military sources

who say it was disbanded after the war. Its members, including the legendary Brigadier "Mad Mike" Calvert, were drawn from a special forces ski battalion of the Scots Guards which was originally intended to fight in nazi-occupied Finland." (David Pallister, Guardian 5/12/90)

1948 Operation Stay Behind is put into operation

"The stay behind groups in Europe had their origins in the fear of communism that concentrated the minds of British and US politicians and planners after the second world war. The plan, spearheaded by the infant CIA as part of a huge covert action programme to assist anti-communist organisations, had been conceived by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, according to the 1976 Senate report on the CIA by Frank Church which first revealed its existence. It was put into operation in 1948 by the National Security Council, which set up the Office of Policy Coordination, a covert operations unit created on the recommendation of a senior state department Soviet expert, George Keenan, the man who formulated the Marshall Plan of economic aid to western Europe. Staffed and funded by the CIA, OPCs central mission, according to Church, was to set up "stay behind nets in the event of a future war" and support Nato forces against Soviet attacks." (David Pallister, Guardian, 5/12/90)

Late 1940s-1950s M16/SAS involvement

"The British Secret Intelligence Service, MI6, and the SAS played their part. In the British sector of Germany, the SAS dug deep secret hides with stores of weapons. MI6 helped the CIA to recruit agents who invaded Albania in 1949 in an operation betrayed by the double agent, Kim Philby."

1950s

"A secret arms network was set up in Britain during the Cold War as part of a west European anti-communist organisation, a former senior British army officer revealed to the Guardian yesterday. Plans were drawn up later to give the organisation a "secondary use" - combating the takeover of civil government by militant leftwing groups, other British sources revealed. It is the first time British participation in the Nato-orchestrated plan - which involved the arming of civilians - has been acknowledged. The network, known as the Allied Coordination committee and partly financed by British intelligence, ranged from Turkey to Portugal, and has provoked a political storm in Italy...General sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley, a former commander-in-chief of Nato forces in northern Europe, said the organisation was based on the idea that there should be a secret network to engage in guerrilla warfare if Britain was overrun by communist forces. "The original plan was to establish a network to arm guerrillas from the civil populace while conventional forces were occupied elsewhere," he said. Sir Anthony did not say whether the network, run by officers from the security services and armed forces still existed."

(Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 15/11/90)

"General Sir John Hackett, a former commander-in-chief of the British army on the Rhine, said yesterday that a contingency plan involving "stay behind and resistance in depth" was drawn up after the second world war." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 17/11/90)

1956 British involvement in formation of Italian Gladio

"Andreotti ... has admitted to parliament that a covert intelligence service was set-up forty years ago, with the help of the CIA and British agents to combat Soviet subversion or aggression." (Wolfgang Achtnr, Sunday Independent, 11/11/90)

"General sir Anthony Farrar-Hockley, a former commander-in-chief of Nato forces in northern Europe said...that a covert intelligence service was set up in Italy with the help of British agents and the CIA - which also partly funded it. The Italian branch of the network was known as Operation Gladio" (Richard Norton Taylor, Guardian, 15/11/90)

1970s British visit to German Training Camp

"Documents shown to the [Italian Committee on Terrorism revealed that in the 1970s British and French officials involved in the network visited a training base in Germany built with US money." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 17/11/90)

1973 Gladio unit visit Britain

"Britain hosted a unit responsible for organising Operation Gladio...General Gerardo Serravalle, who said the Italians trained at a military base in Britain, was giving evidence in Rome to a parliamentary inquiry." (see 1990). (Richard Norton-Taylor & David Gow, Guardian, 17/11/90)

1974 British "Gladio" visit to Italy

Gladio "counterparts in Britain, where the plan was given the name Operation Stay Behind, visited Italy in 1974, according to a senior Italian intelligence official." (Richard Norton-Taylor & David Gow, Guardian, 17/11/90)

16/11/90 Tom King denial

"The Defence secretary, Tom King, said yesterday that he had never heard of Gladio. "I'm not sure what particular hot potato you're chasing after. It sounds wonderfully exciting, but I'm afraid I'm quite ignorant about it. I'm better informed on the Gulf," Mr King said."

(Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 17/11/90)

OTHER "STAY BEHIND" OPERATIONS

AUSTRIA (Schwert)

"The network... in Austria is called "Schwert" (sword)"
(Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 16/11/90)

BELGIUM (SDR-8)

"The Belgian government said it was investigating possible links between its own clandestine network and a spate of particularly brutal raids on supermarkets around Brussels in the mid 1980's, in which 28 people died. Several policemen and well-known right-wingers were arrested after ballistic tests, but no one was brought to trial. (Fiona Leney & Wolfgang Achtnr, Independent, 10/11/90)

"The Belgian arm now existed in "cadre form" but still operated a radio communication system, he [Belgian defence Minister, Guy Coeme] said. "It was a secret service in the 1950s intended for resistance, radio networks, intelligence and - for some time a service for sabotage." The last of these functions was closed in the 1970s and there was no evidence that it had stored arms or ammunition. There have been allegations for more than a year of links between elements in the Belgian secret police and an obscure neo-nazi organisation, Westland New Post, some of whose alleged members have been charged with stealing secret Nato documents. The leader of the Post, Paul Latinus, was found dead - possibly from suicide - and a subsequent reorganisation of the Belgian secret service led to the resignation of its long term chief, Albert Rees." (John Palmer, Guardian, 10/11/90)

"The network, Belgian authorities say, held its latest coordination committee meeting in Brussels during September." (John Palmer, Guardian, 10/11/90)

"General Major Raymond van Calster, chief of the Belgian Army's Intelligence Service, whom some Belgian media had described as head of the Gladio network for Belgium, in an interview to the Belgian news agency Belga, denied on Saturday it existed in Belgium. He said he did not know of the alleged anti-communist cells." (Associated Press, 11/11/90)

"Andre Moyen - a former member of the Belgian military security service and of the network - said Gladio was not just anti-Communist but was fighting subversion in general. "There were at least six hiding places for arms in Belgium until two months ago, and it had prepared a sabotage network" he said...[Former defence minister] de Donna said that the 17 Gladio members in Belgium went on survival training courses. He added there was also a network of "sleeping members"...He added that his predecessor had given Gladio 142 million francs (4.6 million dollars) to buy new radio

equipment." (Reuter, 13/11/90)

"Shortly after I became minister of justice on January 16, 1984 I was informed about 'Stay Behind', former Justice Minister Jean Gol said in an interview with the Socialist daily 'Le Peuple'. He said Belgium's 1984 budget contained 10 million francs (328,000 dollars) to modernise the network's sophisticated communications equipment, code-named 'Harpoon'. (P. Neuray, Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"Gol said a total of 50 civilians were members of Stay Behind in 1984, most of them former World War II resistance agents." (Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"Earlier this week, Belgium's Defence Minister, Guy Coeme, said the Belgian arm of the network, SDRA-8, set up with British weapons in 1949, was still active under the head of the Belgian military's intelligence service. Mr Coeme said Nato was aware of its existence, although it was never part of the alliance and in recent years was only a communications network..." (Independent, 16/11/90)

DENMARK

In Oslo the Danish news agency NTB also reported that in 1978 the then Defence Minister, Mr Rolf Hansen, had admitted in parliament to the existence of such a network." (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

FRANCE (Glaive)

"In Paris the defence Minister, Mr Jean-Pierre Chevenement, confirmed French involvement in the network but said that President Mitterand had abolished it. The agency AFP claims that the disbandment is "recent". Mr Chevenement said in a radio interview that "a structure did exist, set up at the beginning of the 1950s, to enable communications with a government that might have fled abroad in the event of the country being occupied." The group only had a "dormant and liaison role," he said. (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

"The French Defence Minister, Jean Pierre Chevenement, said Glaive (Sword), the French network, had been dissolved by President Mitterand, but did not say when. It had only been "dormant", he said." (Independent, 16/11/90)

GERMANY

"A news programme, produced by Stern magazine and to be aired Wednesday night on the private RTL television network said there was a secret anti-communist organisation in Germany that included former Nazis. The group had a "death list" that targeted several prominent leftist politicians in the event of a war with the Soviet Union, according to a summary...in advance of the broadcast." (MS Beelman, Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"On Tuesday AFP quoted informed sources in Bonn as confirming that the organisation existed in Germany but the former chancellor, Mr Willy Brandt, denied any knowledge of the existence of the group. The German government yesterday confirmed plans for covert action in the event of an invasion but denied there were military units involved. A government spokesman said the government knew of plans by US intelligence agencies to recruit a network of guerrillas throughout Europe and to prepare arms caches. The plans had been developed with the knowledge of the West German secret service director, he said." (Paddy Agnew, Irish Times, 15/11/90)

"Yesterday, the German government admitted the network operated there. "Precautions have been taken in West Germany, as in other Nato states, since the 1950s to secure the flow of intelligence information in the probable area of conflict [after a Soviet attack]," a German spokesman, Hans Klein, said." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 15/11/90)

"The German government is to disband its part of Gladio, the secret resistance network, Bonn officials said yesterday. According to a German television report, the section consisted of former SS and Waffen-SS officers as well as members of an extreme rightwing group, the Federation of German Youth, and drew up plans to assassinate leading figures of the opposition Social Democratic Party in the event of a Soviet-led invasion." (Richard Norton Taylor & David Gow, Guardian, 17/11/90)

"Documents shown to the [Italian Committee on Terrorism] revealed that in the 1970s British and French officials involved in the network visited a training base in Germany built with US money." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 17/11/90)

GREECE (Operation Sheepskin)

"In Greece, defence minister, Yannis Varvitsiotis, has said local commandos and the CIA set up a branch of the network in 1955 to organise guerrilla resistance to any communist invader. Known as Operation Sheepskin, it was dismantled in 1988." (John Palmer, Guardian, 10/11/90)

"The Greek operation started in 1955 but the Socialist government that came to power in 1981 began to dismantle it in 1985. All arms caches were dug up and stored at a military base near Athens by 1988 when the network was finally dismantled, officials and newspaper reports have said. (Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"Andreas Papandreou, Greece's former Socialist prime minister, said his government had disbanded the Greek network, which he described as a "para-state" organisation. Known as "Red Sheepskin", it was formed in 1955 as a secret part of the agreement to set up US military bases in Greece." (Independent, 16/11/90)

"The Athens government yesterday ordered an inquiry into a secret deal-between the Greek military forces and the CIA, aimed at setting-up an

anti-communist guerrilla network as part of the covert operation disclosed last month in Italy under the code name Gladio." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 20/11/90)

"In Greece, where it was given the code-name, Sheepskin, a cell was set up by the CIA in the 1950s but was dismantled in 1988, according to the government. Officers in the underground unit were involved in the Colonel's coup in 1967. (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 5/12/90)

HOLLAND

"A Dutch Defence Ministry spokesman confirmed that an arms cache uncovered in Holland in 1983 was part of an underground Nato resistance network." (Daily Telegraph, 13/11/90)

"Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers confirmed in a Tuesday letter to Parliament that his government is running its version of the Gladio group, but maintained it had informal links with Nato or other members of the Alliance." (P Verschuur, Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers said that 'I cannot exclude that [financial contributions by] private persons were used in protecting and covering up certain activities' of what he called the Stay Behind force. Dutch newspapers reported last week that most of the organisation, also known as Operations and Intelligence, was being paid for by wealthy industrialists so that it could not be traced through government spending records...Lubbers said earlier this month that the Dutch version of Gladio was founded in the 1950s...He said the group did not engage in the more military "guerilla-like activities" of its counterparts. (Associated Press, 21/11/90)

LUXEMBOURG

"In Luxembourg, Prime Minister Jaques Santer told Parliament...the Luxembourg network was recently disbanded. (P Neuray, Associated Press, 14/11/90)

NORWAY

"Rolf Hansen, Norway's defence minister at the time, told Parliament that the resistance groups were originally private, formed after the war. But they had been placed under the supervision of the intelligence services, he said. The Norwegian underground network was not answerable to Nato or other countries, Hansen said, dismissing any connection with the CIA. But he would not discuss details, saying the organisation's activities had to be kept secret." (D Mellgren, Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"Christian Christenson, a former Norwegian intelligence officer, wrote numerous books about the groups, as recently as this Autumn. He said

private groups were formed in 1947, sometimes kept Communists under surveillance and became part of the intelligence service in 1948." (D Mellgren, Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"The Norwegian branch of the network was exposed in 1978, when a policeman stumbled upon one of its arms caches, containing at least 60 weapons and 12,000 rounds of ammunition. The owner of the property where the cache was found, Hans Otto Meyer, an intelligence agent, was arrested but claimed that Norwegian intelligence had provided some of the weapons for use by a resistance cell. This was confirmed." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 15/11/90)

PORTUGAL

"In Portugal, a Lisbon radio station has reported that cells of the network associated with Operation Gladio were active there during the 1950s to defend the rightist dictatorship of Dr Salazar." (John Palmer, Guardian, 10/11/90)

SPAIN

"Spain was invited to join a secret Nato group that coordinated a clandestine resistance network, but declined and so knows nothing about the workings of operation Gladio, the newspaper El Pais reported yesterday." (Guardian, 26/11/90)

"France proposed Spain for membership of the network in 1973 but Britain, Germany and the Netherlands blocked the move on the grounds that Spain was not a democracy." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 5/12/90)

SWEDEN (Sveaborg)

"The network, supported by the US CIA and Britain's MI6, existed from 1958 until at least 1978 and included 150 standby resistance leaders and special arms depots across Sweden." (L Foyen, Reuters, 18/12/90)

"The Swedish government created in 1958 a full-fledged network known only to the Prime Minister and a few selected cabinet ministers, military leaders and industrialists. It was led by Swedish businessman, Alvar Lindencrona, whose work for the International Chamber of Commerce made it possible for him to travel inconspicuously to the US and Britain for briefings with the CIA and MI6...It is unclear what happened to the organisation after 1978 when Lindencrona retired. He died three years later." (L Foyen, Reuters, 18/12/90)

"Sweden's Chief of Staff, General Bengt Gustafsson, confirmed reports that a secret underground resistance group was formed in Sweden during the Cold War, but said that the CIA were not involved." (Guardian 21/12/90)

""Right wing extremists in Sweden were part of the Stay Behind set-up and

I cannot understand why the Swedish authorities never took a closer look at organisation," the former Nato man said. He went on to name the organisation as Sveaborg, which was founded in 1941 by Otto Hallberg and is a shadowy and highly secretive group, mainly composed of veteran Swedish volunteer battalion members who fought in the Finnish-Soviet war, some of whom went on to join the Waffen SS Nordland division." (Searchlight, January 1991)

"Lennart Hansson, an ageing former close associate of Otto Hallberg, says that even before the end of the war Hallberg had already begun to put together the nuts and bolts of an anticommunist resistance movement. Hansson admitted that this movement first made base with officials at the US embassy in Stockholm in 1947-48 and that it was promised covert US assistance in the event of a Soviet attack. "The name of the secret movement," he said, "was Sveaborg and the nucleus of the movement consisted of military personnel." In the 1950's Sveaborg had over 1,000 "contact persons" who were the core of the would-be guerilla force. Many of these people were serving in the Swedish armed forces and the group held regular military exercises. Both Hansson and the still living Sven-Olov Lindholm claim that the resistance movement was very much under Hallberg's personal direction and control and Hansson maintains that contacts with the US continued until about 1955." (Searchlight, January 1991)

"The former head of the CIA, William Colby, who was stationed in Stockholm from 1951-1953, told the Swedish News Agency, TT, that he had been engaged in establishing an armed anti-communist movement in Scandinavia." (Searchlight, January 1991)

"Today Sveaborg keeps an extremely low profile but does exist and is said to have taken younger people into its ranks. Its only public activity takes place on 14 April each year when it gathers at a Stockholm cemetery to honour Swedish nazi "hero", Gosta Hallberg-Cuutla, who was killed in action on the Finnish front." (Searchlight, January 1991)

SWITZERLAND (P26)

"Switzerland's secret resistance army had no links with Nato's Gladio network, although it cooperated with British secret services, its leader said yesterday. The force is to be dissolved by the end of the year. "We first got to know of terms like Gladio from media reports. We had no link to this organisation," said Efrem Cattelan, the head of P26, whose task would have been to resist occupation forces after an invasion. Mr Cattelin told reporters: "We did have connections with Britain for many years and cooperated on training and supplies. The chief of staff, Heinz Haesler, said that P26 would be dissolved on government orders by the new year. Commandant Hans Senn, also involved with the unit, said it was not right to judge the secret army by the standards of today, when the Cold War was no longer a threat." (Guardian, 8/12/90)

TURKEY (Special War Department)

"The paper [Milliyet] also quoted former Premier Bulent Ecevit as saying the unit had first been funded by the United States but that these funds had been cut off by 1974. After that, he said, the unit asked for funds from the defence budget. "Patriotic volunteers were members of the group. They were trained specially to launch a counter guerilla operation in the event that the country was occupied," Ecevit was quoted as saying...During a wave of terrorism in the 1970s, leftist groups questioned the possible role of the organisation, also known as 'kontrgerilla', in right-wing terrorism." (Associated Press, 14/11/90)

"In Turkey, where the Communist Party is still illegal, the former prime minister, Bulent Ecevit, said "patriotic volunteers" staffed a US funded unit that was ready to go into action in the event of a communist takeover. The government has refused to say whether it has been disbanded." (Independent, 16/11/90)

"In Turkey, a unit known as the Special War Department was reported to run that country's secret network." (Richard Norton-Taylor, Guardian, 16/11/90)

APPENDIX 1

State Research, no.2
November 1977

UNDERCOVER RESERVE FORCES

A paramilitary committee of former high-ranking service officers has, for the past six years, been receiving official government support to set up an undercover, anti-communist resistance movement in Britain (Daily Express 18/7/77). The Resistance and Psychological Operations Committee (RPOC) is a covert group within the government-funded Reserve Forces Association (RFA). The RFA is the representative body of British military reservists, and the British component of the NATO-supported Confederation Inter-Allies des Officiers de Reserve (CIOR). The RFA was formed in 1970 and is formally an independent organisation, but its 214 individual and 90 corporate members represent all the reserve units of the armed forces and the government treats it as the spokesman of Britain's reserve forces.

Since 1971 the RPOC has been setting up the nucleus of an underground resistance organisation which could rapidly be expanded in the event of a Russian occupation of any part of NATO, including Britain. Close links have been formed with similar units in several European countries, which are actively recruiting 'anti-communist resistance fighters', according to Chapman Pincher. They are also said to have established an intelligence network which NATO chiefs regard as being of great value.

The RPOC was set up by a group of World War Two defence chiefs who thought that the need has arisen again for an organisation like the underground wartime Special Operations Executive (SOE), but this time directed against communism. Amongst the group were: General Sir Richard

Gale, former NATO Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and founder of the 1st Parachute Brigade; Sir Collin Gubbins, founder of the SOE and the Commandos; Sir John Slessor; Marshal of the Royal Air Force, and former Chief of the Air Staff; and Sir Algernon Willis, Admiral of the Fleet.

Under the then Tory government RPOC was given access to Ministry of Defence Departments, including the Joint Warfare Establishment near Salisbury commanded by Maj. Gen. Patrick Ovens, a former Commando. The committee also formed close links with the Special Air Services (SAS), and secured access to the Foreign Office's Information and Research Department, which has historically been used as a cover Department for M16 agents. The MOD gave the RFA a grant to pass on to RPOC. Now, Pincher claims, the Labour government are worried that their supporters will find out that the government has been encouraging a rightwing paramilitary group, and they have therefore been quietly trying to stifle the committee over the past months. RPOC has been deprived of its grant (and thereby its official status), access to Whitehall information has ended, and attendance at NATO meetings forbidden. The committee still exists, however, with General Gale leading the fight for its survival.

APPENDIX 2

GLADIO

EP 22.11.90 joint resolution replacing B3-2021, 2058, 2068, 2078 and 2087/90

RESOLUTION on the Gladio affair

- A. having regard to the revelation by several European governments of the existence for 40 years of a clandestine parallel intelligence and armed operations organization in several Member States of the Community,
- B. whereas for over 40 years this organization has escaped all democratic controls and has been run by the secret services of the states concerned in collaboration with NATO,
- C. fearing the danger that such clandestine network may have interfered illegally in the internal political affairs of Member States or may still do so,
- D. whereas in certain Member States military secret services (or uncontrolled branches thereof) were involved in serious cases of terrorism and crime as evidenced by, various judicial inquiries,
- E. whereas these organizations operated and continue to operate

completely outside the law since they are not subject to any parliamentary control and frequently those holding the highest government and constitutional posts are kept in the dark as to these matters,

F. whereas the various 'GLADIO' organizations have at their disposal independent arsenals and military resources which give them an unknown strike potential, thereby jeopardizing the democratic structures of the countries in which they are operating or have been operating,

G. greatly concerned at the existence of decision-making and operational bodies which are not subject to any form of democratic control and are of a completely clandestine nature at a time when greater Community cooperation in the field of security is a constant subject of discussion,

1. Condemns the clandestine creation of manipulative and operational networks and Calls for a full investigation into the nature, structure, aims and all other aspects of these clandestine organizations or any splinter groups, their use for illegal interference in the internal political affairs of the countries concerned, the problem of terrorism in Europe and the possible collusion of the secret services of Member States or third countries;

2. Protests vigorously at the assumption by certain US military personnel at SHAPE and in NATO of the right to encourage the establishment in Europe of a clandestine intelligence and operation network;

3. Calls on the governments of the Member States to dismantle all clandestine military and paramilitary networks;

4. Calls on the judiciaries of the countries in which the presence of such military organizations has been ascertained to elucidate fully their composition and modus operandi and to clarify any action they may have taken to destabilize the democratic structures of the Member States;

5. Requests all the Member States to take the necessary measures, if necessary by establishing parliamentary committees of inquiry, to draw up a complete list of organizations active in this field, and at the same time to monitor their links with the respective state intelligence services and their links, if any, with terrorist action groups and/or other illegal practices;

6. Calls on the Council of Ministers to provide full information on the activities of these secret intelligence and operational services;

7. Calls on its competent committee to consider holding a hearing in order to clarify the role and impact of the 'GLADIO' organization and any similar bodies;

8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Secretary-General of NATO, the governments of the Member States and the United States Government.

Source: Statewatch briefing

Nasser's Nazis go global

The Cold War was a complicated conflict. The two major super powers of the United States and Soviet Union get much of the limelight in our memories of this time, but the Cold War shaped the entire globe, and it was a globe in dramatic flux. The era of outright colonialism gave way to new nations, a redrawing of borders, and a developing world that hosted many of the new battle grounds in a period of proxy conflicts. Vietnam, Korea, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and so many other regional and civil wars were, in part, proxy wars. Proxy wars with players beyond the local armies and their sponsoring foreign powers. The remnants of the Third Reich, which wasted no time in selling itself as a useful tool for WWII's victors, proved to be a significant factor, both ideologically and logistically, in the postwar era for a number of countries and conflicts. The Middle East and South America were especially influenced by this forgotten force.

Egypt, in particular, was a focal point of postwar Nazi Activity. The 1950's was a time of tumult for Egypt, when a Nasser-led military coup, carried out in partnership with the Muslim Brotherhood and followed by the subsequent crackdown on the Brotherhood. As we saw in Part 5, the 1950's was also the period when the CIA began its relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood in exile while its relationship with Nasser went from supportive to oppositional following his [seizure of the Suez Canal](#). And as we're about to see, there were plenty of Nazis afoot. Let's briefly review how all these different elements interacted during this period with an excerpt from [Part 3 of Marc Erikson's excellent Asia Times article on Islamism and Fascism](#):

“

...

Islamist-fascist collaboration did not cease with war's end. **King Farouk brought large numbers of German military and intelligence personnel as well as ranking (ex-) Nazis into Egypt as advisors. It was a bad move.** Several of the Germans, recognizing Farouk's political weakness, soon began conspiring with Nasser and his free officers (who, in turn, were working closely with the Brotherhood) to overthrow the king. **On July 23, 1952, the deed was done and Newsweek marveled that, "The most intriguing aspect [of] the revolt ... was the role played in the coup by the large group of German advisors serving with the Egyptian army ... The young officers who did the actual planning consulted the German advisors as to 'tactics' ... This accounted for the smoothness of the operation."**

...

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Yep, Nasser's coup was carried out with the assistance of a large number of German advisors that King Farouk brought into the Egypt following the war. Egypt was a major destination point for the Nazi diaspora, along with South America and, eventually, the United States.

Continuing...

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And yet another player fond of playing all sides against the middle had entered the game prior to Farouk's ouster: In 1951, the CIA's Kermit Roosevelt (grandson of president Teddy, who in 1953 would organize the overthrow of elected Iranian leader Mohammed Mossadegh and install Reza Pahlavi as Shah) opened secret negotiations with Nasser. Agreement was soon reached that the US, post-coup, would assist in building up Egypt's intelligence and security forces - in the obvious manner, by reinforcing Nasser's existing Germans with additional, "more capable", ones. For that, CIA head Allen Dulles turned to Reinhard Gehlen, one-time head of eastern front German military intelligence and by the early 1950s in charge of developing a new German foreign intelligence service. Gehlen hired the best man he knew for the job - former SS colonel Otto Skorzeny, who at the end of the war had organized the infamous ODESSA network to facilitate the escape of high-ranking Nazis to Latin America (mainly Peron's Argentina) and Egypt. With Skorzeny now on the job of assisting Nasser, Egypt became a safe haven for Nazi war criminals galore. The CIA officer in charge of the Egypt assistance program was Miles Copeland, soon a Nasser intimate.

And then things got truly complicated and messy. Having played a large role in Nasser's power grab, the Muslim Brotherhood, after the 1949 assassination of Hassan al-Banna by government agents [see part 1] under new leadership and (since 1951) under the radical ideological guidance of Sayyid Qutb, demanded its due - imposition of Sharia (Islamic religious) law. **When Nasser demurred, he became a Brotherhood assassination target, but with CIA and the German mercenaries' help he prevailed. In February 1954, the Brotherhood was banned. An October 1954 assassination attempt failed. Four thousand brothers were arrested, six were executed, and thousands fled to Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon.**

Within short order, things got more tangled still: **As Nasser in his brewing fight with Britain and France over control of the Suez Canal turned to the Soviet Union for assistance and arms purchases, the CIA approached and began collaboration with the Brotherhood against their ex-ally, the now pro-Soviet Nasser.**

...

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Yes, that's right, Allen Dulles had Reinhard Gehlen supply Nasser with Nazis, and then, after Nasser cozied up to the Soviets, the CIA began working with the Muslim Brotherhood. What a wonderful turn of events.

And [Otto Skorzeny](#), the Nazi they picked to do the recruiting and a top figure in the [ODESSA group](#), was far from alone in working to employ and reorganize the Nazi diaspora. When Reinhard Gehlen hired Skorzeny to staff Nasser with Nazis, he hired one of the top members of a network of leaders organizing the postwar Nazi underground: Werner Naumann's Circle.

Naumann's Circle

Werner Naumann was one of Hitler's elite, having been promoted to the head of the Propaganda Ministry following Joseph Goebbels's suicide. Both Naumann and [Martin Bormann](#) were believed by the Allies to have died trying to escape from Berlin near the war's end. But in 1949 Naumann surprised the West by turning up as a West German businessman. (see Footnote 1). In 1953 British agents raided Naumann's villa in Dusseldorf, seized over a ton of documents which lead to Naumann getting charged with being the top conspirator in a secret cell of ex-Nazis intent on undermining democracy in Germany. The plot started in 1950, with the intention of infiltrating and taking over the German [Free Democratic Party](#) (FPD), a moderate Right party. Naumann's plan was conceived along with FPD foreign-policy advisor Ernst Achenbach, who convinced Naumann that he should lead a "National Opposition" party and it could be started by getting enough of their people in the North Rhine-Westphalia branch of the FPD. This would allow them to break off a neo-Nazi splinter party under a respectable FPD banner (1). To get an idea of the fascist rumblings taking place in West German politics around this time ([which is happening again](#)), let's take look at a quick at this article about 1953 election [from the August 17, 1953 issue of Time magazine](#):

“

Time Magazine

Monday, Aug. 17, 1953

The Issue Is Adenauer

In less than three weeks, West Germany's 33 million voters will pass judgment on Konrad Adenauer, who for the last four years has presided over his country's economic resurgence and won his mistrusted nation a place in the councils of the West. Formally, West Germany will be voting for 484 Bundestag members. Actually, it will vote either to retain the dour old Chancellor or replace him with a Socialist. The betting was that he would win, but the spry, 77-year-old was taking no chances. On a 6,000-mile, month-long tour, he was delivering two or three speeches a day, carrying the brunt of the battle for his Christian Democratic Union Party and the government coalition.

He faced a second-string opposition. Since the death of Kurt Schumacher, the fanatic and brilliant orator, the powerful Social.Democratic Party is presided over by mild Erich Ollenhauer, a sort of chubby Clement Attlee in Lederhosen. The Socialists' principal attack on Adenauer's record: that not enough of West

Germany's prosperity trickles down to the workers, that Adenauer's pro-American foreign policy prejudices the chance for a reunified Germany.

Coming up on the right as a new dark-horse party is the Nazi-tainted All-German Bloc of refugees (expected to poll 10% of the vote), which makes a big appeal to the rootless 11 million Germans who fled or were expelled from the East Zone and former German territories.

The great unknown is the size of the pro-Nazi vote, supposed to be a large proportion of the 7,000,000 eligibles who failed to ballot in '49 and of the ex-Nazis since enfranchised. With the election nearing, all parties talked a tough nationalistic line. **Fortnight ago, several clumps of penny-ante Hitlers got together in something called the German Reich Party, and have blatantly put forward such candidates as Dr. Werner Naumann, former state secretary of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry, recently arrested (and released) for allegedly plotting to overthrow the Bonn Republic and Colonel Hans Ulrich Rudel, a onetime Luftwaffe ace now living in Argentina.** Busy last week warding off the left, Konrad Adenauer threw a worried glance over his shoulder at such distressing signs on the right, warned his countrymen not to play with that kind of fire.

“

So in addition to Werner Naumann running on the pro-Nazi ticket, we also had [Colonel Hans Ulrich Rudel](#), one of the many Nazis invited to Argentina by [pro-Nazi Argentinian dictator Juan Peron](#). Rudel was also a key person in *Der Weg* (“the Way”), the top literary journal for the Nazi diaspora published out of Argentina (2).

Another member of Naumann’s circle, [Gustav Scheel](#), was a leader of the “German Bruderschaft” (German Brotherhood), a group founded in a British POW camp that became an important organization for the postwar fascist elite. Scheel had close ties to Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The Mufti, who was wanted in Yugoslavia for war crimes, had been picked up by French police following the war but escaped (although many say he was allowed to escape) and fled to Egypt. Scheel was also quite close to Iran’s leader [Mohammad Mossadegh](#) (3).

Naumann’s political plotting in 1950 coincided with Naumann getting a job managing the H.S. Lucht company, a Dusseldorf import-export firm run by Lea Lucht, widow of Herbert S. Lucht, a Third Reich Propaganda Ministry Official. Mrs Lucht was quite close to Waffen SS General [Leon Degrelle](#), who found refuge in Franco’s Spain following the war and helped lead the Nazis in exile there. So close was Mrs Lucht to Degrell that many thought Degrell was the real head of Lucht’s company.

And coming full circle, H.S. Lucht’s lawyer was Naumann’s co-plotter Ernst Achenbach and its Madrid branch business manager was Otto Skorzeny (4). It was in Spain where Skorzeny’s founded the Paladin group, a “Fascist terrorist combine”, which Skorzeny headed until his death in 1975. The Paladin group’s finances were taken care of by Skorzeny’s weapons business and, eventually, Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi. So great were Skorzeny’s ties to both US and Spanish intelligence that his Madrid-based import-export firm even shared an address with a front for the Spanish intelligence organization, the SCOE, *and* the CIA (5).

And so great, overall, was the influence of Naumann's circle in Egypt that German companies wishing to do business there first had to go through Naumann, Scheel, Skorzeny, and the Grand Mufti (6). This is the group that helped staff Nasser with Nazis at the request of the CIA.

Egyptian diplomacy and arms, compliments of Schacht, von Hentig, and Voss

Skorzeny's uncle-in-law, [Hjalmar Schacht](#), also played an important role in the postwar years (7). Schacht was the head of the German [Reichsbank](#) during the hyper-inflationary 20's and one of [Hitler's early backers and financiers](#). Some of his more bizarre historic notes of interests were his being the target of [an early US attempt at bio-warfare](#) and also [being the source of the suggested name change for the country of Persia to "Iran"](#), which reflects the Persian people's Aryan lineage (and also reflected the Shah of Iran's great admiration for Hitler and his ideals).

To get an idea of the kind of influence Schacht and other ex-Nazis wielded in the region at the time Let's turn now to a passage from Kevin Coogan's "[Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International](#)" p383-385 :

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...

Another key figure involved in German intrigue in the Middle East was Hjalmar Schacht. **He first came to Egypt as General Naguib's 'guest of honor' after the coup against King Farouk. Schacht's most daring Middle East power-play was the 'Jiddah Agreement' between German industry and Saudi Arabia in January 1954.** Under the terms of the deal, Saudi Arabia agreed to establish a fleet of supertankers (to be built in German shipyards) that would carry Saudi oil around the world. Aristotle Onassis was chosen to manage the shipping side of the operation. Besides making the Ruhr industrialists fantastically wealthy, Jiddah threatened to break the 'Seven Sisters' oil companies' hegemony over the distribution of Middle East oil. The Jiddah Agreement was ultimately blocked by the Western oil cartel with help from the CIA. **Yet Allen Dulles's CIA was surprisingly hesitant to confront Schacht. Robert Maheu, one of the coordinators of the American attack on Jiddah, said of the CIA: 'You can't imagine how hard it was to convince them that the national interest was at stake.'**

Schacht was equally busy in the Far East. At a time when the United States was committed to the total isolation of the People's Republic of China, Schacht carried the oriflamme of German big business to Beijing. In 1957 he became a founding member of the German-China Society, which promoted business deals with the PRC. The chairman of the Germ-China Society, Wolf Schenke, was a former chief editor of the Hitler Youth publication *Wille und Macht*, **a contributor to Haushofer's *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik***, and a Far East correspondent for the *Volkischer Beobachter*. After the war he became a strong advocate of an anti-American "neutralist" Germany through an organization called the Third Front. In 1951 he organized the first "West German Congress against Remilitarization" (Schenke personally support "armed neutrality"),

whose delegates included members of the Bruderschaft and SRP as well as Social Democratic and Communist-allied groups.

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A note on [Karl Haushofer](#): An important geostrategic thinker for the Third Reich, Haushofer was an advocate of forming an alliance with Russia against the West during WWII (which, uh, obviously didn't win out in the end). He was also a devotee of the British theoretician Sir Halford Mackinder, who in the early 20th century posited that the control of the Eurasian landmass, the “Earth Island” or “World Island”, [was central to dominating the globe](#). The influence of the “Earth Island” concept is still seen today, with the resource-rich Middle East and Central Asia being seen as highly strategic regions for the world's powers.

Continuing..

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Another prominent member of the German-China society was Werner-Otto von Hentig, a former head of the Arab Division of Ribbentrop's Foreign Office and a close friend of Fritz Grobba. **King Saud made Hentig Saudi Arabia's chief European advisor in 1955. While serving as German ambassador to Indonesia, Hentig accompanied the Saudi delegation to the April 1955 Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, as a Special Counselor. He also helped broker Soviet-Arab relations in the Mideast.**

...

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It is quite indicative of the enduring influence these ex-Nazi figures had in the region that Hjalmar Schacht was invited to Cairo as a “guest of honor” in 1952, helped negotiate a German-Saudi agreement that could have threatened US Interests in 1954, and the following year King Saud made Werner-Otto von Hentig, the [former chief of Arab affairs for the German Foreign Office during WWII](#), his chief European advisor.

It does seem odd that Allen Dulles appears to have been reticent about acting to block “Jiddah Agreement”, but if the highly lucrative and questionable business connections between Dulles and his major German corporate clients during WWII is accurate, then perhaps some of those relationships continued to influence Dulles. Then again, Dulles also had highly lucrative, close, and questionable business relationships with US oil interests, and those oil interests, in turn, had highly lucrative, close, and questionable relationships with major German corporations during that same period, so it was a murky picture all around. For furthering reading on this murkiness, be sure to check out John Loftus's [The Secret War Against the Jews](#). Loftus, you'll recall from Part 4, was the DOJ Nazi hunter that uncovered so much of this past and triggered the Operation

Greenquest raids of March 20, 2002 on the SAAR network, a network with direct historic ties to the postwar Nazi network we're examining right now.

Continuing...

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The idea of the “Third World” as a separate bloc between East and West first began to emerge at Bandung, where leaders like Sukarno, Nasser, Tito, Nehru, Nkrumah, and Chou En-lai met to reach some sort of understanding. **Nowhere was the Third World dance between East and West more pronounced than in Egypt, where the Soviet-American struggle for political influence was played out in the arms trade.** Weapons were especially difficult for Egypt to acquire since England was no longer a potential supplier. France also refused to arm a government that was aiding anti-French insurgent movements in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. **Caught between its traditional allies and its desire to maintain a presence in Egypt, the CIA turned to both Otto Skorzeny and the Gehlen Organization to supply Nasser with guns.**

...

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Keep in mind with all of these shadowy things, how incredibly useful something like a Nazi underground of the Muslim Brotherhood would be for a government that wants to do something it knows it can't get caught doing. And then keep in mind that they have their own agenda.

Continuing...

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A key player in the weapons game was Dr. William Voss, who ran the famous Skoda Works armament factory during the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. **After King Farouk's downfall, Voss was hired to modernize Egypt's military.** He soon became so powerful that the German ambassador to Egypt, Dr. Guenther Pawelke, quit in protest. **In 1955 Nasser's hunger for weapons led to a stunning deal between Egypt and the now-Communist-run Skoda plant and other East Bloc Suppliers. The Soviet-sanctioned agreement had major foreign policy ramifications.** Until Stalin's death in 1953, Soviet propagandists had regularly denigrated non-Communist African, Asian, and Arab nationalists as either “feudal or semi-feudal lords” or supporters of “petit bourgeois reformism.” Not without reasons, the Soviets viewed Nasser's Free Officers Association as little more than a reactionary clique with ties to the CIA.

After Bandung the Soviet line changed radically, in part because Chou En-lai lobbied the Kremlin on Nasser's behalf. The decisive factor for Moscow, however, was the Egyptian government's refusal to join a proposed U.S.-Egypt Mutual Security pact. Equally important was Egypt's opposition to the "Baghdad Pact," a U.S. and British-sponsored effort modeled along the lines of NATO and SEATO. Although Pakistan, Turkey, and Iraq backed the plan, the Egyptians lobbied against it with other nations, including Jordan and Lebanon.

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So for the purposes of secretly arming Nasser, the CIA hired German intelligence, Otto Skorzeny, and in the end, with the help of Dr Voss, the Egypt signed a major arms deal with the Soviets. An interesting turn of events to say the least.

Francois Genoud comes to Cairo

Another interesting individual to show up in Egypt was one of the Hjalmar Schacht's close pals and now-familiar figure in this history: [Francois Genoud](#). Let's take a close look at this central character and his Middle Eastern dealings with an excellent 1997 article in the [Philadelphia Inquirer](#) "Hitler's Swiss Connection" (This particular article is hard to find in various archives, but the text is available [here](#) and cited at the National Archives [here](#)):

“

HITLER'S SWISS CONNECTION by David Lee Preston

***Hitler's Swiss Connection, by David Lee Preston
published in the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 5, 1997***

On May 30 1996, a gray haired Swiss widower named Francois Genoud took a few close friends and relatives to a restaurant in Pully, his home town on Lake Lausanne.

Then they accompanied him back to his house, where one of his lunch companions prepared him a lethal cocktail: a bitter white poison dissolved in water. Genoud took the drink into his hands. He had started planning for this moment a year earlier when he went with his daughters, Martine and Francoise, to become a member of the suicide-assistance organization Exit, complaining that "psychological illness" had made life unbearable since the death of his second wife, Elisabeth, in 1991.

Genoud put the glass to his lips and drank. "He had decided to leave this earth," said Martine Genoud, "on a date that he chose himself." He was 81.

An urbane man with an air of influence and respectability, Genoud was no ordinary Swiss pensioner.

He was an unrepentant Nazi who devoted his life to aiding Adolf Hitler's surviving henchman and those he saw as Hitler's natural anti-Jewish successors: Arab terrorists.

He was a financier of fascism, and a manager of the hidden Swiss treasure of third Reich.

A shadowy figure in six decades of international intrigue, he masterminded an airplane hijacking, underwrote attacks on Israel and paid for the defense of Adolf Eichmann, Klaus Barbie and "Carlos the Jackal." An anti Jewish propagandist, he made a fortune publishing Nazi tracts.

In the end he slipped away just as a 50-year old scandal was breaking that might have implicated him in one history's great cover-ups: The Swiss collaboration with Nazi Germany in hiding gold looted from Holocaust victims and subjugated governments.

...

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The issue of Swiss complicity in war time Nazi money-laundering is one of many topics involving powerful people quietly supporting and/or profiting from the Nazi regime. One of the Switzerland based institutions that is believed to have collaborated extensively in the [looting Nazi gold](#) happens to include the [Bank for International Settlements](#) (BIS), a kind of central bank for central banks. The BIS was set up in 1929 as a way to handle Germany's WWI reparations payments. Hjalmar Schacht inspired its creation and was [involved in setting up the bank's charter](#). During WWII the BIS was headed by an American, [Thomas McKittrick](#). During the war, Mr McKittrick [befriended future CIA director Allen Dulles](#), but also came under fire by Congress [for heading a bank that appeared to assist the Third Reich](#) (and McKittrick was far from the only American involved in such activities. [Just ask the Bush family](#)). After the war there were calls for the bank to be dissolved, partly due to [whispers of its scandalous war time behavior](#). In 1947 it was given a clean bill of health by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and McKittrick moved on to a job at the Chase National Bank.

Fifty years later, the Bank for International Settlements's war time activities were investigated and it was revealed that McKittrick and other BIS officers helped convert Nazi gold, war booty they seized from occupied territories, into the US Dollars and Swiss Francs they needed to buy raw materials and munitions. The investigations also discovered that the BIS wasn't purchasing most of the gold itself, but instead facilitating these transactions between the Third Reich and third parties that included neutral countries and even Allied governments (8). John Loftus covers (or uncovers, as the case may be) the topic of profiteering, and worse, by a number of prominent business and governmental figures, including McKittrick's friend Allen Dulles, in his book [The Secret War Against the Jews](#).

Skipping down in the article, let's look at Genoud's early years, and his early ties with important figures from the Third Reich and Middle East...

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As a teenager in the fall of 1932, Francois Genoud briefly met the man who was to shape the rest of his life. In a hotel in Bad Godesberg, near Bonn, the young Genoud encountered Adolf Hitler. He told Hitler of his great interest in National Socialism, and Hitler shook his hand. Genoud's parents--his father was a wealthy wallpaper manufacturer--had sent him from Lausanne to study in Germany at 16 to learn discipline. He found Hitler's writings "very relevant," he said years later. Sixty years after that single meeting, Genoud told a London newspaper, **"My views have not changed since I was a young man. Hitler was a great leader, and if he had won the War the world would be a better place today."**

In 1934, back in Switzerland, the 19 year old Genoud joined the pro-Nazi National Front, and two years later he began to forge the other political links that would prove so valuable. **He traveled to Palestine. There he met the grand mufti of Jerusalem, the pro-Nazi religious and political leader of Palestinian Muslims, Amin el-Husseini, who was to spend most of World War II in Germany, and who, according to British author Gitta Sereny, "would consider [Genoud] a confidant until his death in 1974."**

Genoud traveled to Berlin frequently during the war "to see his friend the grand mufti," and visited him afterward many times in Beirut, according to Le Monde correspondent Jean-Claude Buhner. The grand mufti "entrusted Genoud with the management of his enormous financial affairs," according to Sereny. Working for both Swiss and German intelligence agencies, Genoud traveled extensively in the Middle East.

In Lausanne in 1940, along with a Lebanese national, he set up the Oasis nightclub to serve as a covert operation for the Abwehr, the German counterintelligence service. In 1941, Abwehr agent Paul Dickopf sent Genoud into Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Belgium. Genoud befriended several top Nazis, including SS Gen. Karl Wolff, who had been Heinrich Himmler's personal adjutant and who by 1943 would be "supreme SS and police leader" in Italy.

"It was a tit for tat between me and my Abwehr contact [Dickopf]," Genoud reminisced shortly before his death. **"I was dealing in all kinds of things including currency, diamonds and gold, and Dickopf liked dealing, too. So I pushed things his way, and he pushed things my way . . . It was all very satisfactory; everybody was happy. We were all friends."** Dickopf, meanwhile, went underground in the fall of 1942 with Genoud's help, emerging in Switzerland. **Ironically, from 1968 to 1972, Dickopf was president of Interpol, the widely respected international police agency. At the end of the war, Genoud represented the Swiss Red Cross in Brussels, according to Buhner.**

...

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Yep, in addition to befriending top Nazis, Genoud was a close friend and confidant of the Grand Mufti, and a longtime friend of Paul Dickopf, the president of [Interpol](#) from 1968 - 72. Genoud even lobbied the secret services of the Middle East to support Dickopf for the job (9).

After the [hostage taking crisis at the 1972 Munich Olympics](#) by the Palestinian group [Black September](#), Dickopf turned out to be quite hesitant in using Interpol to investigate the incident, with the Interpol agency spokesperson saying that Interpol was involved in investigating criminal acts, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was a political matter (10).

Recall too that, along with Genoud, al-Taqwa director Youssef Nada also worked with the [Abwehr](#) (German intelligence). They are both quite the popular, and connected, fellows.

Continuing...

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Genoud, according to documents from Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld of Paris, soon used his banking contacts to set in motion networks that later became known as ODESSA, which functioned principally for the transfer of millions of marks from Germany into Swiss banks and the evacuation of key Nazi leaders into Morocco, Spain and Latin America.

"The money," wrote Toronto author Erna Paris in a book about Klaus Barbie, "most of which was stolen from European Jews, was deposited in numbered bank accounts through a clandestine club of former SS officers called *Die Spinne* (The Spider), the successor to the ODESSA organization."

...

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That most of the money used to finance the ODESSA group came from money stolen from

European Jews is a particularly grim aspect of this story.

Skipping down in the article, let's look further at Genoud's Middle Eastern affairs...

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It was at the Nuremberg trials in 1946 that Genoud befriended Maj. Gen. Herman Bernhard Ramcke and obtained Bormann's account of Hitler's conversations from Ramcke's subordinate, former SS Capt. Hans Reichenberg. **In the preface to the Bormann document, Hitler's Table talk, Genoud wrote that Hitler wanted the people of the Third World to carry on the work of the Thousand Year Reich.**

...

By 1955, Genoud had used his wartime contacts to become an adviser, researcher and banker to the cause of Arab nationalism. Along with Reichenberg in Tangiers and Cairo, **Genoud set up AraboAfrika, an import-export company that served as a cover for the dissemination of anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli propaganda and the delivery of weapons to the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN).** Genoud made investments for Hjalmar Schacht, the former Nazi Reichsminister of Finance, president of the Reichsbank and a key postwar intermediary between Germans and Arabs. Numerous former Third Reich officials gained refuge in the Arab world, including Eichmann's deputy, Alois Brunner, who for years was protected by Hafez el-Assad in Damascus.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, seeking to offset Soviet influence in the Middle East, **helped bankroll the activities of Brunner and other former Nazis working in Egypt after the war**, according to documentation by American journalist Christopher Simpson.

...

Before the end of the 1950s, Genoud had set up Swiss bank accounts on behalf of the North African liberation armies of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. **In 1958, in partnership with a Syrian--and with Hjalmar Schacht as an adviser--Genoud set up the Arab Commercial Bank in Geneva, to manage the war chest for the Algerian separatists. Schacht was quoted as saying National Socialism would conquer the world without having to wage another war.** When Algerian independence was proclaimed in 1962, Genoud became director of the Arab Peoples' Bank in Algiers. He brought his highly placed friend Schacht with him. **But two years later, Genoud was arrested in Algeria and charged with violating exchange control regulations in the transfer of \$15 million of FLN money to a Swiss bank. The intercession of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser got Genoud out of Algeria without a trial, and he never went back. After a 15 year battle in Swiss courts, the money was returned to Algeria.**

...

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One of Genoud's Egyptian contacts early after the coup of 1952 was Fathi al-Dhib, the future Swiss diplomat that would advise al-Taqwa director Ahmed Huber on his travels to Egypt. At that point Mr. al-Dhib was an Egyptian intelligence officer (11). In addition the weapons-smuggling carried out by the AraboAfrika company, which was essentially a front company for the Werner Naumann group (12), the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda through Genoud's Arabo-Afrika import-export company brings us to another interesting figure: Johann von Leers. [Johann von Leers](#) came to Cairo in 1955. Von Leers had been Goebbels's right hand man and chief creator of anti-Semitic propaganda for Nazi Germany. Like Genoud, Skorzeny, and so many of the other figures in Egypt, Von Leers played a significant role in organizing Nazi escape routes to Latin America. In 1950 von Leers himself arrived in Argentina and became editor of *Der Weg*, the Buenos Aires-based journal for the Nazi diaspora that Mr Rudel also helped lead. Von Leers was also heavily involved in the occult (13). But people change

(sort of), and five years later von Leers moved to Egypt, converted to Islam, changed his name to Oman Amin and helped run Nasser's propaganda ministry, directing the important "Institute for the study of Zionism" (14). Judging by Egypt's treatment of the reporters that mentioned this delicate topic, [Mr. von Leers's employment was a touchy topic at the time](#).

Johann von Leers became a kind of mentor to Ahmed Huber, who is, in many respects, the heir to Genoud's legacy, playing that critical role in continuing the Islamist and far Right movements. Huber reportedly [grew close](#) to von Leers during Huber's time in Cairo the early 60's, when Von Leers "opened his eyes to the real meaning of the great adventure of the Third Reich", whatever that may be (15)

And finishing our look at David Lee Preston's article in the Philadelphia Enquirer...

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...

Beginning in the 1960s, Genoud helped finance numerous Arab terrorist causes, selling weapons and paying legal fees. **In November 1969, he sat alongside the radical lawyer Jacques Verges as an adviser at the trial in Switzerland of three terrorists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) who had blown up an El Al plane in Zurich that February.** Genoud's Arab Commercial Bank paid for the defense.

Two decades later, Genoud would team up with Verges again, **this time as financier for the left-wing lawyer's defense of Barbie, the Gestapo chief known as the "Butcher of Lyon."** In June 1987, Genoud ignored a summons to appear as a witness in the Lyon court trying Barbie for crimes against humanity. Barbie killed 4,000 non-Jewish French citizens and deported 7,000 Jews to death camps. He was convicted in 1987 and died in prison.

...

Lee maintains that Genoud "is a much more significant figure in the postwar neo-Nazi scene than Barbie. Genoud is more the behind-the-scenes wire-puller. He was not someone who lined people up and shot them to death, but he had dealings with those who did. Genoud was a living embodiment of the continued political maneuvering and influence by Third Reich activists and hard-core Nazis after World War II--activities that had measurable influence in world affairs, as evidenced by Arab terrorism and other political violence."

...

“

One of the more high-profile cases which Genoud financed and Verges worked on was the prosecution of the infamous [Illich Ramirez aka Carlos "the Jackal"](#). Carlos has converted to Islam since his imprisonment and [praised bin Laden](#). Not slowing down at his old age, Verges more recently [even offered to represent Saddam Hussein](#) at his war crimes trial. Verges's protégé, Isabelle Coutant-Peyre, is both [the fiancée of the](#)

[imprisoned Illich Ramirez](#) and was also the [French lawyer for the “20th 9/11 hijacker” Zacarias Moussaoui](#).

Martin A. Lee’s assertion that Genoud is more significant a figure than Klaus Barbie is probably accurate. Barbie, a sociopathic menace that extended his campaigns of terror from France in WWII to South America, was but one of the many peoples and movements that individuals like Francois Genoud bankrolled in the latter half of the 20th century, just as Ahmed Huber is continuing to do today.

Klaus Barbie and the South American Nightmare

While the [Genoud-financed trial of Klaus Barbie](#) focused on his WWII atrocities in France, Barbie’s postwar activities are, quite unfortunately, indicative of many countries’ willingness to cooperate with the most unsavory of characters to carry out their policy goals. Barbie was first acquired as a US asset in 1947, and allowed to flee to Bolivia, and escaping war crimes charges in France. Barbie spent the next several decades in Bolivia, [coming under protection of Bolivian dictator Hugo Banzer Suarez](#) in the 70’s when he [was found by Nazi-hunters](#). That Barbie was able to find protection in South America during that period is not suprising. The 70’s was a particularly dark decade for South America, when terrorists, government sponsored death-squads, military dictators, and a growing drug trade destroyed lives and countries. The “Dirty War” that started in Argentina swept across the continent, creating South America’s first “Narco-State” with the “Cocaine Coup” of Bolivia carried out by Klaus Barbie’s band of Nazis, fellow drug lords, and an Argentinian intelligence agency with its own Nazi history. All of this activity helped lay the ground work for the logistical and financial support networks utilized in the Contra efforts.

For the last section of this essay we’re going to look at the role the South American Nazis played on that continent in the 70’s and 80’s. This may appear to be merely a tangentially related topic to larger question in this series of essays on the relationship between fascism and violent Islamist fundamentalism, but it’s not. The workings of Al-Qaeda and the global Jihadists cannot be understood based on personalities and ideologies alone. Al-Qaeda is a child of the war in Afghanistan and the Arab “Afghan” Mujahedeen support efforts, which the Muslim Brotherhood played a major role in and the US and the Saudis backed heavily. And the Afghan Mujahedeen effort shares a great number of ties to the “Dirty Wars” of South America and the US-backed and Saudi-backed Contra movement (yes, [the Saudis became major funders of of the Contras](#) after the US Congress cut off funds in 1984).

South America and Central Asia were both Cold War battlegrounds that included extensive clandestine support from the US and Saudis. While money and arms there has always been funneled into conflicts by interested outside powers (and those looking to make some moolah), the conflicts in South America and Afghanistan played important roles in modernizing those techniques. Both conflicts were fueled by, and helped fuel, South America’s and Aghanistan’s booming cocaine and heroin trades. In addition, even back then our international financial system had an immense capacity to launder massive amounts of drug profits, along with a booming global trade that carried with it the ability to secretly supply weapons around the world. All of these factors created conditions that greatly enabled the ability governments (or factions of governments, as

the case may be) to secretly finance and arm rebel groups. And all of these same factors and loopholes still exist today, and they don't require state sponsorship to be exploited.

Modern terrorism, in turn, is reliant on many of the same sponsors, underground weapons channels, and money-laundering centers as well as techniques that were utilized decades ago in fueling the parallel South American and Afghan conflicts. Today's terrorist groups are addicted to the illegal drug trade to fund their activities and depend on a global arms trade that sells deadly force to the highest bidder with impunity. And as we're going to see in future essays, many of the same conduits are direct descendants of the same ones used in the 70's and 80's, sometimes run by the same people.

And, of course, there are the Nazis and far-Rightists. One of the individuals that has taken the lead on reporting about the Nazi-infested dark side of South America's history is [Robert Parry](#). Robert Parry is an investigative journalist who broke a number of [critical stories on the Iran Contra affair](#) while working for the Associated Press and Newsweek in the 80's. Today, his [Consortium News](#) website provides some of the best coverage, commentary, and historical perspectives on the vital topics that get to the heart of our [lost history](#). So let's take a closer look at some of the Nazi-influenced financial and weapons smuggling networks that helped terrorize South America with and [excellent article from Consortium News](#):